

Timely Topics

By Norman Thomas

Whalenism and a New "Red" Scare—Little Disarmament Coming—The New Supreme Court Vacancy—Some Hopeful Signs in the Nation

THE POLICE AND THE COMMUNISTS

It is clear from their own statements that the Communists do not believe in or desire immediate beneficial results from their petitions and demonstrations. Indeed, they want to prove the folly of peaceful methods under a capitalist government. They are not terrorists and do not throw bombs but unquestionably in line with their tactics they seek to make it hard for the police. The police fall in line with Communist tactics when they run amuck. It has been repeatedly proved that the police can manage a Communist demonstration without brutality. The troubles of March 6th were in nearly every case the fault of the police and in most cases did not occur when the police kept their heads. In New York eye witnesses seem to agree that the worst troubles were caused by police and plain clothes men who contrary to orders waded into the crowd with their clubs while the police chiefs by milder means were heading off the unauthorized parade. None of these men has been punished. Commissioner Whalen instead boasted that he saw his own spies in the role of Communists helping to stir up trouble at which he "split his sides laughing." But far worse even than this is Mr. Whalen's assumption that he can succeed where the Czar of Russia failed. He seeks the use of spies to blackmail those whom irresponsible undercover men brand as active Communists and so lose their jobs. Commissioner Whalen even proposes to fight school children in his connection. To the credit of New York, such a monstrous policy is arousing opposition. The Commissioner responsible for it by any decent American standards should be removed from his job. It is our business to see what Mayor Walker and ultimately Governor Roosevelt may have to say on this subject. Add to this police policy a Federal registration of aliens such as is now being considered in Congress, and there isn't much about America that Thomas Jefferson would recognize.

STATESMEN WHO FOLLOW

STATESMEN cannot get too far ahead of public opinion but it is the business of statesmen to lead public opinion. That is where President Hoover and the American delegation at the London Conference have fallen down. Public opinion may instinctively be against even so mild a measure as a promise to consult with other powers what should be done in case a nation deliberately broke the Kellogg Pact. But public opinion should be enlightened and not misled by Secretary Stimson and his colleagues. When Secretary Stimson indicates that this promise which France and other nations want from us as a condition of reducing their navies is similar to the Franco-British understanding on navies before the war he draws a misleading and dangerous parallel. The Franco-British pact was secret. This would be open. The Franco-British pact was an alliance against other nations. This would be a world agreement. It is moreover logical for our country which is necessarily involved with other countries to the extent that it feels it cannot reduce its own navy without regard to those countries to answer the reasonable French inquiry, "What will you do with your navy in the event an aggressor nation breaks the Kellogg pact? Will you insist on lending your money to it and providing it with munition, using your great navy to back you up? If so, we cannot reduce our navy." It is idle to reply that we are sure the Kellogg Pact will never be broken. If we believe that why bother with any navies at all? Under these circumstances it is at least reasonable to promise to consult, in what we hope is the improbable event of the violation of the Kellogg Pact, as to what steps should be taken, making it very clear that by this promise we do not commit ourselves under any circumstances to go to war to enforce peace. If the European powers want more than a reasonable assurance that we will not use our navy to supply the military needs of an aggressor nation they want what we should not grant. But we should at least meet them on this point, otherwise we shall have little disarmament and less good will.

WHOM WILL HOOVER APPOINT

It was a singularly dramatic coincidence that on the day when Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes' fellow citizens were celebrating his 89th birthday, both his associate, Justice Sanford, and the recently retired Chief Justice William H. Taft should die. Of Judge Sanford it can only be said that he was an undistinguished conservative jurist. William Howard Taft had an outward honor that never has come and probably never will come to any other American. He had been both President and Chief Justice. Yet his fame in history will depend on the offices he held rather than any special greatness. He was a lovable personality with some administrative and some legal gifts who was far happier as Chief Justice than as President but who had none of Judge Holmes' vision of the relation of law to life. He simply—and sincerely—served the dominant forces of his time. If the court follows the line he laid down and which Judge Sanford even more rigidly followed it may be the ultimate factor in making peaceful economic revolution impossible in America. For that reason it is of enormous importance whether President Hoover will appoint another Hughes or look around for a fit companion to Holmes and Brandeis.

WHAT HOPEFUL SIGNS?

In a world where police do their utmost to prove the Communist thesis by beating up the unemployed, where Gandhi begins a struggle for independence by a new method of non-violent civil disobedience against an unyielding British raj which has not known the day of its salvation, where the London Naval Conference on disarmament threatens an increase in armaments, where millions of farmers suffer from even more tragic unemployment, and where our Senate concocts the most shameful log rolling tariff yet devised, I have been asking myself what things I had read or seen to applaud, what things might give us hope.

IN HAITI

SOME hope there is in the apparent success of the Haitian Commission in laying a feasible plan for relaxing American rule in Haiti, some reason for congratulation that the Dominican revolution in the same island was bloodless.

SPRINGFIELD

MORE than ever I think hope may be found in the Miners' convention in Springfield, Ill. Farrington and Fishwick have been relegated to the rear by the rank and file and less vulnerable leaders brought forward. How completely hopeless is the Miners' union under Lewis one has only to look at the records to see. There is no union in most of the bituminous coal areas and for this not merely a difficult situation but Lewis' own conduct and policies are to blame. He has well been called a wrecked. I speak as a result of some first hand knowledge of men and conditions in the coal fields on this and preceding trips.

PUBLIC OPINION TURNING?

THERE are also some signs of hope that public opinion isn't completely crazy. Some police, e. g., in San Francisco, Baltimore and even Chicago, showed humanity and good sense in handling Communist unemployment demonstrations on March 6. Where the police went cruel and crazy as in New York and Detroit there has been encouraging protest. (It was a real source of joy to this returning traveler to read of the vigorous Socialist protests in New York.) Labor showed some real spirit in the tremendous funeral for Carl Mackley in Philadelphia and the A. F. of L. has shown fine sense in getting the help of such an engineer as Geoffrey Brown in its Southern organizing campaign. The Jews and the Protestants, or many of their leaders including the Federal Council of Churches, and the Presbytery of New York have shown a wholesome opposition or reluctance to being dragged by the exploitation of Communist intolerance into an unwarranted and terribly dangerous holy crusade against Russia. And surprising public sentiment has been aroused on the London Conference as shown by the signatories to the cable to Mr. Stimson.

These things are in line with the more intangible evidences I found on my three weeks' trip of greatly increased interest in social questions, both on the political and economic side, everywhere I went. What I have seen and heard on the busiest three weeks' trip of my life makes me think we have no reason for despair in facing the tremendous challenge to Socialism as the way out.

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Unemployment Conference Wednesday

New Mine Union Formed Progressives Hold Reins In Springfield

Meanwhile Lewis Gathers His Supporters at Indianapolis — Both Take Union Title

By Louis Stanley

SPRINGFIELD, Ill.—The convention of the miners who are in rebellion against the John L. Lewis administration of the United Mine Workers, opened its sessions in the Knights of Columbus Hall at nine o'clock, March 10, three hours before the time designated in the convention hall. By 11:21 the delegates had adopted the first article of the new constitution which provided for the name of the organization. Thus, following the advice of counsel, they sought to outmaneuver the Indianapolis convention and clinch their constitutional election.

The Springfield convention bears all the signs of a protest movement, protest not only against John L. Lewis, but also in no small measure against the officialdom of Illinois District 12. This was shown immediately upon the opening of the convention.

John Brophy of District 2, Pennsylvania, amended the report of the Committee on Credentials, excepting for the present the name of Frank Farrington from the list of acceptable delegates. Frank Farrington is the former president of District 12 who was exposed by John L. Lewis as having made a contract, while still in office, with the Peabody Coal Company to serve that corporation for three years at \$25,000 per annum. Brophy was backed by the convention.

Immediately afterwards Fishwick proceeded to carry out his duties as chairman by endeavoring to appoint a Committee on Rules and Order of Business. There was wild protesting by the delegates who made it clear that he was not wanted as permanent chairman. He withdrew as gracefully as he could and Alex Howatt, President of Kansas District 14, famous for his opposition to the Kansas Industrial Court Law, was elected chairman by unanimous vote.

On the second day an effort was made to keep Walter Nesbit, Secretary-Treasurer of District 12, from the secretaryship of the convention. John H. Walker, President of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, and Powers Haggood, former Harvard man who turned miner, were put in nomination against him. Some unpleasant things were said about Illinois officials but in the end both Walker and Haggood declined in favor of Nesbit and the latter was elected.

On numerous occasions a strong undercurrent of resentment against the officials of District 12 revealed itself in the convention both in resolutions and in general speeches on the floor.

Although about half of the five hundred delegates come from Illinois, the convention took on more and more of a national character as it went on. Delegates from the states arose to tell of their struggle with John L. Lewis and his organizers. Because of the informal manner in which the sessions have been conducted all the pent up indignation of the men have had a chance to come to the surface.

There is a decided progressive trend. The preamble of the constitution was amended to call for "the full social value of their (the miners') product," instead of "an

Socialist Leaders
To Tour the West



Morris Hillquit



James H. Maurer



Mayor Daniel W. Hoan



James O'Neal

Socialist
Party Heads
Open Tour

Campaign Part of Drive
for 30,000 New Members — 100 Meetings
Are Scheduled

(By a New Leader Correspondent)
CHICAGO.—By the end of this week members of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party will be enroute to Los Angeles, breaking the journey to California by speaking at public meetings in many important cities. The schedule of meetings thus far arranged number almost a hundred and the complete list will undoubtedly run over a hundred.

This is the first time that a meeting of the committee has been held on the Pacific Coast and it is also the first time in the history of the party that committee members have spoken at so many meetings. While in Los Angeles numerous mass meetings will be addressed by members in near by cities and it is figured that the California movement will derive much benefit thereby.

In San Francisco March 25
One of the largest demonstrations to be held has been arranged in San Francisco for Tuesday, March 25. This will be held in Eagle's Hall with Morris Hillquit as the principal speaker. Labor men and Socialists are expected to attend this meeting within fifty miles of San Francisco and the committee in charge is prepared to handle a large crowd.

In arranging the tours National Executive Secretary Senior has distributed the speakers over three routes. James H. Maurer will go through the northern tier of states and travel down to Los Angeles from Portland, Ore., and Seattle, Wash. Morris Hillquit will follow the central route after leaving Chicago, speaking in Kansas City and Salt Lake City. Mayor Daniel W. Hoan of Milwaukee will follow a similar route through Iowa and Colorado. James O'Neal will take the southern route from a point in Kansas, speaking in Texas and possibly in Arizona. Secretary Senior has about 25 stops enroute to and from the meeting.

First Campaign Since War
Not since the entrance of the United States into the World War has anything like this been undertaken by the Socialist Party. For many years before this event Socialist lecturers had been kept in the field by the National Office but the war made any further work of this character impossible. All of the resources of the party were then used to protect the civil rights of its members and court trials exhausted its finances.

This was followed by dissensions within the party that were fostered by Left Wings which soon appeared as Communist groups. Within the last year or two the organization began to recover from its long period of troubles and the invitation extended by Local Los Angeles, where a splendid movement has been organized, provided the first opportunity to arrange a national tour for speakers.

Part of Membership Drive
These meetings will correlate with the national drive of the party to obtain 30,000 new members this year. Nearly 3,000 new members have been admitted since the drive began two months ago and it is hoped that each meeting will contribute much to strengthen the organization in the West where the party was most hurt by the war terror years ago.

The schedules thus far arranged include the following dates:
Morris Hillquit, national chairman, will speak in Detroit, party banquet, Hotel Wolverine, 6 p.m., March 16; Ann Arbor, student's Round Table Club, 4:15 p.m., March 17; Chicago, on the 18th and 19th; Kansas City, Unitarian Church, March 21; Salt Lake City, informal conference, March 23; San Francisco and Los Angeles until first week in April; University of Redlands, Economics Dept., (Continued on Page Five)

Pledge to End Industrial Slavery Made by
50,000 at Funeral of Murdered Striker

(By a New Leader Correspondent)
Philadelphia.—With upraised right arms, 50,000 men, women, and children took a pledge at the funeral of Carl Mackley, murdered hosiery striker. The pledge was read by Edward F. McGrady, organizer for the American Federation of Labor, and the tremendous crowd repeated it word for word. The pledge follows:
"I hereby solemnly promise that I will continue the struggle against low wages, poverty and oppression, and that I will not falter nor be intimidated by hired assassins, nor discouraged by a subservient and oftentimes tyrannical judiciary."
"That, if necessary, we too, will lay down our lives in order that all those who toil may be delivered from industrial enslavement by the un-American, avaricious industrial despots."
"To all of which I, at the grave of our martyred brother, Carl Mackley, do pledge my most sacred word of honor."

50,000 Attend
Funeral of
Phila. Striker

Strikebreakers Killed
Mackley, Member of
Hosiery Workers Union
Now on Strike

By John W. Edelman

PHILADELPHIA. (F.P.).—"I hereby pledge that I will continue the struggle against low wages, poverty and oppression, and that I will not falter nor be intimidated by hired assassins nor discouraged by a subservient and oftentimes tyrannical judiciary." With arms upraised and heads bared, 50,000 Philadelphia workers, massed around the bier of Carl Mackley, murdered union full fashioned hosiery knitter, recited this pledge at the open air funeral service held in the largest public square in the textile district.

All observers agreed that this was the greatest labor demonstration and probably the most remarkable open air funeral service ever held in Philadelphia. An automobile procession over three miles long followed the coffin to the cemetery. While the body lay in state in the Hosiery Workers Federation's Hall, more than 15,000 persons filed in single line through the flower-filled auditorium.

1,000 Police Out
Traffic was halted on the busiest street in North Philadelphia during the funeral service and streets for blocks around were closed to autos. Almost a thousand police were massed for duty but had nothing but traffic to attend to.

Pres. Thomas F. McMahon of the United Textile Workers placed the blame for the slaying of Mackley at the door of labor spies employed by manufacturers and of injunction judges who are driving workers to desperation. Edward F. McGrady, representing Pres. Green of the A. F. of L., called down the wrath of divine power on industrial despots who, by refusing to recognize the principle of collective bargaining, bring about bloodshed and slaughter. The Rev. F. B. Halsey urged a new order in industry where disputes can be settled by arbitration.

Police counted almost 1,300 autos in the procession to the funeral. Thousands upon thousands of homes throughout the working class districts of northeast Philadelphia had flags displayed at half mast and black mourning signs on doors and in windows.

Firm May Settle
The unprovoked killing of Mackley by scabs working at the H. C. Aberle hosiery plant may (Continued on Page Three)

Socialists
Fight New
"Red" Scare

Removal of Whalen
Sought by Thomas —
Petition Being Circulated
Throughout the
City

An attempt to stir up a new "red scare" such as led to violent suppression of civil rights during the war was launched this week by Police Commissioner Whalen of New York City. An immediate and heavy counter-fire of attack by the leaders of the Socialist Party seems at this writing to have put a stop to the "red scare." The quick work of the Socialist party in being the first to demand free speech, even for its bitterest critics, the Communists, dismayed the Communists fully as much as it enraged Commissioner Whalen.

The attack on Whalen has come to a head with a demand on Norman Thomas, co-chairman of the Socialist party Committee on Public Affairs, that Whalen be removed from office for lawless conduct. Petitions are now being circulated by the Socialist Party demanding Whalen's removal.

The new "red scare," which may be short-lived, started with the Communist demonstrations of a week ago Thursday in New York City. Under the guise of preventing three hundred Communists from marching on City Hall, Whalen permitted his officers to sail into a large crowd of innocent standers-by and give them a brutal beating.

Free Speech Made Unpopular
Though the provocative tactics of the Communists had brought much public sympathy to Whalen, the Socialist Party insisted that the attack of the police was unwarranted and lawless. Morris Hillquit, national chairman of the party, wrote Whalen along this line. (The text of Mr. Hillquit's letter will be found on page 4 of this issue.)

To make matters worse, Whalen, evidently in a boastful mood, issued a long interview to The New York Times on Sunday telling how his under-cover men had helped stir up disorder at the demonstration. He went on to tell how he was out to rid New York of Communists by having their employers discharge them. A list of all Communists was being prepared for submission to the employers of the city, he said.

Louis Waldman, co-chairman with Thomas of the Public Affairs Committee, immediately denounced Whalen for sending agents provocateur into the Communists ranks and declared his plan to have Com-

New York
Reports New
Loss in Jobs

1,500,000 Out of Work
in Philadelphia—Pittsburgh Mayor Silent on
Demands for Relief

DELEGATES representing 500,000 workers are expected by trade union and Socialist leaders to attend a conference on unemployment this Wednesday evening, March 19, at Beethoven Hall, 216 East 5th Street.

The printing, building and needle trades will send a large contingent to the conference, which will have before it a program worked out by subcommittees that are now meeting to agree on plans. The Workmen's Circle, a fraternal order of workers with a membership of 85,000, and the Socialist Party branches in New York City, numbering 68, will have delegates at the conference. Over 300 local unions have received the call.

Credentials should be mailed immediately to Abraham I. Shipiloff, Chairman, Emergency Conference on Unemployment, 7 East 15th Street.

Labor Bureau Finds
Situation Worse

According to the March issue of Facts for Workers, the economic news letter published by The Labor Bureau, Inc., 2 West 43 Street, New York City, "the unemployment situation this winter has been worse than in 1927, and very possibly worse than in 1924."

"A factor which makes the present situation critical is that factory employment last summer when the decline started, was at a higher point than at any time in 1926 and 1927. Therefore more people have lost jobs—and lost them more quickly than in the last slump. The Federal Bureau states that the decline in five months, from August to December, was as great as that for two years from the end of 1925 to the end of 1927."

Great Building Drop
"There has been this winter a more drastic decline in building than in 1927 or even in 1924. New York City employers and unions estimate for instance, that between 40 and 50 per cent of the building workers are jobless."

"In most commercial and miscellaneous lines has been falling to a greater extent than in 1927. 'Another factor to remember is that with the natural growth of population, and the continued drift of farmers to the cities, there are now more potential workers than in previous years. In United States employment agencies there were in December 166 applicants for each 100 jobs. This was a larger ratio of applicants to jobs than these agencies have experienced since 1922."

"Another significant set of figures are those relating to labor turnover in certain factories, published by the U. S. Department of Labor. When taken on the force are more numerous than those leaving, employment is increasing, and vice versa. The 'accessions' have been larger than the 'separations' in these factories even since the figures began to be compiled in 1926, except for the year 1927, when the accessions were 40.2 per cent of the number on the payroll against separations of 41.5 per cent until this winter. In November, 1929, accessions were 23.7 per cent against separations of 38.4 per cent, and in December, accessions were 13.5 per cent against separations of 29.5 per cent. If we look into the causes of separation, we see that a much smaller number quit voluntarily than ever before since the start of the figures, while twice or three times as many were laid off."

N. Y. Job Figures
Continue to Decline

Despite every effort of Pres. Hoover and Sec. Davis to pump life into the Hoover prosperity corpse, the figures continue to give them the lie. Employment is still on the downgrade in New York state, according to the state labor department. The index number of employment in Empire State factories—a reliable barometer of industrial activity—slumped 5.5 per cent in January and February. In only two other years since 1914 have factories cut forces in this period—in 1919 and 1920. The decline since November has pulled employment down 9%.

from the fall peak, announced Comm. Frances Perkins so that February was lower than any other February since 1914. The index of employment now stands at 92.1, compared with 100 for 1925-27.

Leading New York citizens, organized in the Natl. Unemployment League, with Darwin J. Meserole as president, have appealed to Pres. Hoover and congress for legislation to authorize public works to meet the "present acute and menacing situation." The league estimates unemployment in various cities as: Detroit, 150,000; Philadelphia, 100,000-200,000; Toledo, one factory employing 37,000 now employs 4,000.

The League for Industrial Democracy appealed to state, national, and municipal governments to expand their public works programs at the earliest possible moment, to give relief to those in actual want and to organize and strengthen public employment agencies.

Dr. Harry W. Laidler, director of the L.I.D. and president of the Natl. Bureau of Economic Research, in a pamphlet entitled "How America Lives," places the average wage of the employed American worker at \$1,205 a year, or \$23.17 a week. Agricultural laborers are lowest on the list with a cash income of \$10.25 a week while building trades workers get the highest wage, \$31.61. In manufacturing industries the average is placed at \$23.68; in mining, quarries and oil, \$23.54; in mercantile establishments, \$24.27.

150,000 Unemployed

In Philadelphia

Philadelphia. — Speaking at a meeting of the Philadelphia chapter of the League for Industrial Democracy, Professor William L. Lockwood of the Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania, estimated that there were from 150,000 to 175,000 workers completely out of work. He characterized the situation as the worst Philadelphia had ever known, basing his conclusions on A. F. of L. reports and a survey of charity organizations. Joseph Schwartz, secretary of the Labor College agreed with the estimate.

Mayor Mackey has held up a \$200,000 appropriation for relief of the unemployed pending a police census. The Philadelphia Family Assn. initiated the plea for relief, instancing a larger number of applications for help this winter than ever before.

Pittsburgh Mayor

Silent on Relief

PITTSBURGH.—(FP)—Dismissing nearly 200 men from the public works department in expiration of bonded work, Mayor Kline's only contribution to the unemployment question was a press statement that he "was glad there was no real demonstration March 6." The Pittsburgh Press ironically placed the mayor's statement beside a front page picture showing about 10,000 people massed near the scene of the breaking up of the parade. It was discovered in court the day following the demonstration that the two professional rowdies whose disorder gave the police excuse for stopping the parade had been cheerfully beaten up by the crowd following their attack.

G. D. Rust, head of the Pittsburgh Building Trades Council, suggested that the mayor cease using the projected Town Hall as a political football and authorize the beginning of this \$6,000,000 project that has been authorized by popular vote since quite a number of years ago.

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NORMAN THOMAS

Guest of Honor

Thomas Reveals Tammany Fixing Of Magistrates

Socialist Leader Gives Out Views Before Going to Grand Jury Room—Names 11 Magistrates

BECAUSE he doubted the efficiency of the present Grand Jury investigation into the magistrate's courts, Norman Thomas, Socialist Party leader, Thursday took the unusual course of giving out an outline of his views before entering the Grand Jury room.

The most startling piece of information given out by Mr. Thomas, whose criticism led to the present investigation, was a copy of a court calendar of Magistrate George W. Simpson, dated July 14th, 1925, containing annotations by name of a member of prominent Tammany leaders alongside the name of cases scheduled for hearing on that date. Mr. Thomas said he was informed the annotations are in Simpson's own handwriting. Among the names appearing alongside of cases scheduled for hearing were "Abern," "Hamill," which also appears alongside of two cases, "Healy," "McCooley," "McManus," "Farley," and "Abern." To the left of a case involving Nicolaos Bros. Inc., appears the notation "Hamill," while to the right, the name "Hirschfeld" is written in. The notations are in ink, the rest of the calendar typewritten. According to his informant, Mr. Thomas, said, this meant that "Hamill" was for leniency or "fixing" the case, while "Hirschfeld" was for prosecution. David Hirschfeld was Commissioner of accounts at the time.

The Socialist leader named 11 magistrates who he said should be investigated on specific charges.

His statement follows:

Critiques Jury Probe

"1. While I am hopeful for beneficial results from this grand jury inquiry and shall cooperate with it, I should like once more to point out that it is not and cannot be a thoroughly satisfactory form of investigation. It is secret, it is held in only one county and both its chairman and the District Attorney are high in Tammany councils. In the last analysis it is Tammany itself that is under investigation. It is, moreover, disappointing to observe that what I had understood to be a policy of arresting fixers and court hangers for disorderly conduct has been changed for a policy of subpoenaing them to talk to the grand jury. I may add that I am not particularly hopeful about the kind of a legislative inquiry now proposed which resolves itself into a contest between the two old parties to put each other in a hole.

"2. I have never claimed to be a detective or to have facilities for elaborate research. I therefore followed the policy of turning most of my specific leads over to certain newspaper men in whom I had confidence. Directly or indirectly as a result of this, action has been begun against certain bail bondsmen including Bowen who, I am told, however, still manages to operate in some fashion through a substitute and through

the friendliness of one or more magistrates.

"3. I desire to call particular attention, in citing cases, showing how Magistrates Simpson and Weil have nullified the election laws in behalf of Tammany. Even Magistrates Corrigan and McAdoo have helped in this connection. Corrigan by his decision on voting residence in the Kusler case in 1927 and McAdoo in the same year by refusing to make a warrant for the arrest of certain floaters returnable until after election. As a result a dead man was voted and it was impossible to discover who impersonated him. The ease with which magistrates and judges like Max Levine can be got to give bail in cases like these and some others contrasts strangely with the attitude of the magistrates in Commissioner Whalen's Communist cases. In general the magistrates have interpreted the law in election cases to mean that no crime is committed unless there is proof that the defendants meant to commit a crime. Burglars would be glad to hear of this theory of law.

Names More Judges

"4. I have a number of cases not yet, as far as I know, presented to the grand jury involving on the face of them conduct by Hyman Bushel both as lawyer and temporary magistrate. Magistrates Simpson, Silberman and Weil which would bear investigation.

"5. Out of a great mass of communications I have some which on the face of them seem to be so specific concerning certain phases of the record or conduct of certain magistrates, including particularly Magistrate McQuade, that I think an investigation is in order. One of the most remarkable of these documents is a court calendar opposite many items of which are the names of district leaders and other prominent politicians in handwriting alleged to be that of Judge Simpson who was sitting. This also requires investigation which I do not have time or facilities to make.

"6. Events have given me every reason to re-state and emphasize what I have previously said about Magistrates Vitale, Rudick, Hirschfeld, Sabatino and others, and about general conditions in the magistrate's courts. I should, however, like to say that Magistrate Brodsky, whose record I attacked in the "Star Spangled Banner" case, on inquiry seems to me to have in most matters a record calling for praise, not blame.

"7. I am increasingly of the opinion that the chief clerks are the centers of intrigue and fixing in most courts. They are the connecting links between police, bondsmen, fixers and sometimes magistrates. Of the record and competence of many of them I have had vigorous complaints from people who are afraid themselves to come forward. There should be a housecleaning of these clerks and there should hereafter be no appointment of chief clerks except after competitive civil service examination.

Proposes Reforms

"So far as specific reforms go, besides the reform I have suggested with regard to the chief clerks, I am in sympathy with many of the specific suggestions that have been made. For instance, for a centralized court, for changes in the bail procedure suggested as far back as 1925 by the grand jurors, etc. I believe that defendants before magistrates in all cases, certainly in those involving the possibility of imprisonment for more than thirty days should have the same right to demand trial by jury that now exists in civil cases in municipal courts. There should be a special part for such trials which do afford some protection against fixers. No jury trials, however, will reach the business of the conduct of preliminary hearings where, as the trial of Magistrate Vitale shows, some of the most serious evils exist. I believe that if the Mayor has the power and the responsibility of appointment he should have a definite responsibility, if not for removal, a matter on which I am still somewhat doubtful, then at least for investigation and recommendation.

"I want, however, to emphasize my conviction that there can be no adequate reform of magistrate's courts outside of a reform of the whole judicial system. This cuts deep into our national ideas. In particular there can be no reform of the magistrate system worth much, whether magistrates are appointed or elected, so long as they are part of the machine system of politics and the favors magistrates can give or withhold a principal item in the stock and trade of district leaders who now bring about the appointment of magistrates as they bring about the nomination of municipal court judges for value received through financial contributions to the party or through favors done or hoped for on the bench. This method is part of the very life of our system and no political machine will voluntarily end it nor can any automatic protection in method of procedure guard against it. There is no automatic salvation for people too lazy to form their own party with genuine ideals of justice and then to watch it."

Waldman Riles Walker On Transit

Albany Hearing Features Exchange Between Socialist Leader and Tammany Mayor

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

ALBANY.—Attack by Louis Waldman, of the Socialist Party, and a spirited defensive reply by Mayor Walker of New York City featured the hearing in Albany this week on the bill of the transit commission to unify New York City's transit lines in a single system. Similar legislation has been before the legislature, but the Republican party has defeated it. All the while, Mayor Walker's fight for the bill has been perfunctory. Waldman urged the legislature to pass the bill and remove Walker's alibi for his inactivity.

Waldman singled out two provisions of the bill for criticism and amendment. First he urged that the Mayor be not given the right to appoint seven of the 12 directors on the proposed municipal transit corporation. He urged that each political party be represented proportionately to the number of votes cast in the city elections. He also demanded that the workers on the lines have two representatives of their own choosing on the board. Secondly, Waldman attacked a clause in the bill which would permit the handing over of the unified system to a "management corporation," which would take a part of the revenues or a stipulated sum. Waldman urged the city not only the unified system but run the system itself.

Rising to present his case, Walker spent most of his time replying to Waldman. The Mayor charged politics was being dragged into the case. He never thinks of politics, the Tammany mayor insisted. He said he didn't particularly care whether he had the right to appoint a majority of the board of directors. He had enough patronage and didn't care for a little more. However, if patronage was to be dispensed who better than he, who had just been re-elected to office, had a better right to dispense it? Walker extricated himself from a tight position of defense by making a demagogic plea for a 5 cent fare.

Mr. Waldman said, in part:

"Notwithstanding the many defects of the New York City transit bill, the Socialist Party of New York urges your committee to report favorably upon it and urges the legislature to adopt it. New York City is a unit in demanding immediate transit relief. While our long-suffering public does not know the fine intricacies of the powers and jurisdictions of the city government, they are fed constantly by the city administration with the story that it is the fault of the Republicans that the present intolerable transit conditions continue. While we do not share the view of the Walker administration that it lacks power to deal effectively with transit we would urge on the Republican legislature the removal once and for all of the Democratic alibi.

"In urging the adoption of this bill we desire to suggest several important amendments which would tend to safeguard the public treasury on the one hand, and on the other secure efficiency and economy in the administration of a comprehensive, unified transit system.

"In the first instance: paragraph 7 of section 107 of the bill is fraught with danger to the public. It provides for blanket power for the board of control, which under the bill would be a creature of the Mayor and therefore obedient to his will, to hand over the entire transit system existing and to be constructed to a so-called 'management corporation.'

"While the bill goes into meticulous detail in clauses much less essential than this sub-division here no limits of any kind are set as to the arrangements with this so-called 'management corporation.' What price is it proposed to pay this management corporation? What percentages is it to be allowed out of revenues? This provision merely calls for private operation under a new name. The Tammany administration of 1912, aided by the Wagner bill of that year, put the dual contracts over on the city under the euphemistic name of a 'lease.' The present Tammany administration now seeks power through this bill to escape the only logical thing for the city to do—namely, public operation—by making a gift of the more valuable existing transit system to some friendly transit corporation under a so-called 'management plan.' Under such a plan the city would hold the bag in cases of losses. The 'management corporation' would be given outright compensation or, what is more likely, a guaranteed percentage of the revenues.

"The Walker administration in proposing this measure presumably has in mind not abstract power but power to execute well-laid and preconceived plans. This sub-division is part of such a plan. Frankly, we in New York City have not to date been let in on

Chicago Hears Hillquit on Wednesday

National Chairman Will Address Party Conference on Tuesday, March 18th

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

CHICAGO.—The Socialist Party of Chicago will open its membership rally Wednesday, March 19th, 8:00 p.m., at the Douglas Park Auditorium, Ogden & Kedzie Sts., with National Chairman Morris Hillquit of New York as the principal speaker. Comrade Hillquit's subject will be—"Prospects of Socialism in the U. S." This meeting will open the drive with a bang and that it will be a good start for the coming municipal and congressional campaign. Admission to this meeting will be 35c. All members and friends are urged to attend.

On Tuesday, March 18th at 6:00 p.m., Comrade Hillquit will address a gathering of Socialists at the Hotel Bismarck. This meeting will be devoted to a discussion of party problems.

The Cook County Membership Meeting Will Be Held Sunday, Mar. 23d, 2:30 p.m. at the Douglas Park Auditorium. This is to be an important conference and all members are urged to pay up so that they can vote on all of the vital questions which will arise.

State Ticket Named

Illinois Socialists have met here in state conference and nominated a state ticket and candidates for Senate and House of Representatives. For United States Senate the party is running George Koop, well known member of the Typographical Union. For Congressmen at large, Morris A. Gold and Dr. Emil Z. Levin. For state treasurer, John T. Whitlock is being run and Meyer Halushka is candidate for superintendent of public instruction. George Chant, Florence H. Kirkpatrick and Victor Firionti were nominated for trustees of the University of Illinois.

The state platform committee is composed of Andrew Lafin, Clarence Senior, Frank Manning, M. Siskind and W. R. Snow. The committee on union relations and labor party is H. Snel, B. Siegel, George Koop, R. B. Green, Frank Manning, Andrew Lafin, Anton Garden and Clarence Senior. The committee on publicity and propaganda is Ralph McAllister, Morris Gold, Severino Polo, Henry Duet and M. Siskind.

The new state executive committee is Adolf Germer, Henry Duet, George Chant, M. V. Halushka, M. Weinrib, Clarence Senior, Frank Manning, Ralph McAllister, I. A. Anderson, J. E. Mahoney, Fred G. Wellman, R. C. Dinsmore, Andrew Lafin, J. T. Whitlock and Page Miller of Aurora.

It was decided the dues would be 25c per member per month for old members after April 1st, 1930, \$1.00 per year for new members. Branches to be allowed to charge whatever amount they see fit above the twenty-five cent minimum.

Secs Dangerous Model "Old age pension legislation is likely to develop rapidly in the next few years. New York will be looked to for guidance. Any law passed now purporting to be an old age pension law is likely to be regarded as a model by other states. If the Mastick bill as printed is taken as a model, it will serve to turn this increasing demand for a decent pension law into a demand for state aid in dispensing poor law relief and greatly to weaken the entire movement. It would be far better, we believe, not to have any legislation on the subject in this legislature than to pass another poor law relief measure and then have advocates of old age pensions point at this measure as representing their point of view.

"It is said that this is a good start. If it were based upon the principle of old age pension, it might be regarded as such; but we regard it not as a good start in old age pensions, but merely as an amendment to the poor law of the state. As the state already has quite an enlightened poor law, which requires the county officials to give adequate relief to those in need, there is no special need at this time for this supplementary bill. If the legislature passes this bill, it is likely to give certain privileges to county officials which they will try to maintain if ever a real old age pension measure is proposed and you will find this body of officials and political organizations which they represent having at their disposal the right of peddling out favors to the state's poor presenting a strong opposition to old age pension legislation.

"We urge either the above amendments to the Mastick Bill in an attempt to make it a pension bill, or we urge the defeat of this measure, and the appointment of another old age pension or security commission by the Governor to study the best forms of pension bills in operation in the world and to recommend a plan for the passage of an old age pension measure of which the state may be justly proud. Such a measure may require an amendment to the state constitution. But the passage of such an amendment is not impossible. We have had amendments in the past. We are sure that the

Socialists at Albany Demand Effective Bill on Pensions

Dr. Laidler Proposes Four Amendments—Louis Waldman Urges Constitutional Amendment Be Sought

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

ALBANY.—The Socialist party, through Harry W. Laidler and Louis Waldman, appeared at the legislative hearings on the proposed old age pension law here Tuesday and urged the enactment of a real pension bill which would give at least \$550 a year to all men and women over the age of 65.

Waldman and Laidler attacked the present Mastick bill as a snare and a fraud designed to give only the appearance of an old age pension. Waldman said the bill is less liberal than the existing poor law. It might be necessary, he said, to have a constitutional amendment passed before a real pension bill could be possible. Those in favor of a pension bill should not run away from this, he said.

Laidler Lists Amendments

Dr. Laidler proposed several amendments to the existing bill. He said, in part:

"We are heartily in favor of an old age pension law for the State of New York. We Socialists are here to urge such amendments to the Mastick bill which will take it out of the category of poor law and place it in the category of old age pension bills.

"1.—If this bill is to be regarded as an old age pension bill it must give a pension and not an indefinite allowance. We demand that the bill be amended to give all reaching a specified age who come within the provisions of the bill, a stated amount as a pension, which amount should be at least \$350 a year.

"2.—We believe that a person reaching a certain age should be entitled as a right to obtain this sum if he satisfies certain objective tests; if he has been a worker on the farm and in industry for a specified number of years and during his working period his earnings have been insufficient to ensure himself old age dependency.

"3.—We believe that the age qualifications should be 60 years old not 70 years. As a compromise and as a temporary measure 65 years might be decided upon, but the needs of the present situation cry for a lower age limit—that of three-score years. Out of 38 counties which a few years ago had adopted old age pensions only seven had the age as high as 70.

Secs Dangerous Model

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Washington Socialists to Hear Dan Hoan

State Conference Called For Sunday, April 6th, in Seattle, Senior Announces

(By a New Leader Correspondent)

CHICAGO.—A state conference of all Washington Socialists will be held Sunday, April 6th, in Seattle. Clarence Senior, executive secretary of the Socialist party, has directly invited more than 500 Socialists and Socialist sympathizers to attend the conference which will be addressed by Daniel W. Hoan, Socialist Mayor of Milwaukee. The organization conference is part of the Western invasion of the Socialist party during which all members of the national executive committee will tour the west enroute to and from the meeting of the committee in Los Angeles.

Senior has sent the following letter to all known Socialist supporters in Washington. They are urged to bring any others who may be interested but have not been reached by the national office mailing. The letter follows:

"Dear Comrades:

"The time is here to renew Socialist activity in Washington. The people of the United States are fed up on Hoover prosperity. The national office is flooded with letters asking for the Socialist program and the party is in better shape than for six years.

"Last year we gained more members than in all the years since 1923! This year we are out to get 30,000 new members—and we'll get them. We are issuing new literature and getting publicity that we have not got for years.

"You will want to know more about this, and will want to hear Daniel W. Hoan, Socialist mayor of Milwaukee, tell about some of the things we are doing.

"You are urged to come to a Washington state membership conference to be held Sunday, April 6, in Seattle. Sessions will begin at 2 P.M. and last till 6. The Seattle Labor College, 1510 1/2 First Avenue is the place. L. P. Wood, 346 Cedar Street, Renton, Washington, is in charge of local arrangements. Send in his suggestions for topics to be discussed.

"Yours for Socialism,

"CLARENCE SENIOR,

Executive Secretary.

WHITINSVILLE, Mass. (F.P.)

—Hard times in the textile industry have knocked 75 more workers out of jobs at the Whitin Machine Works. Although the number normally employed is between 3,000 and 3,500, only 2,000 are on the job now.

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Strikers Are Gassed In Elizabethton

Sheriff Resigns Rather Than "Shoot Down Pickets" — Unionism Grows in Danville

(By Federated Press)
Tear Gas Used On Rayon Strikers ELIZABETHTON, Tenn.—(FP)—As in the strike last summer, tear gas and deputies' clubs are being used on strikers at the Bemberg-Glanzstoff rayon mills, who have walked out in protest against union discrimination.

Tear gas was thrown at a group of pickets near the mill gates. In the confusion two pickets were arrested but later the union men and women reformed their ranks, charged the deputies and forced the release of their fellow-strikers. Enraged, Sheriff J. M. Moreland threatens warrants against union leaders.

Sheriff Quits Job
Sheriff J. M. Moreland has resigned his office rather than "go out on the highways and shoot down pickets." His resignation followed a demand for his ouster signed by 76 of the "best people" of this rayon center, on the ground that he had not stopped picketing by workers on strike one week against the Bemberg-Glanzstoff rayon firms.

"I was forced out," said Sheriff Moreland, "by a bunch that wanted me to go out on the highways and shoot down pickets, if they didn't do like these people wanted them to." He also charged that 75 deputies sworn in at the outbreak of the strike are on the mill payroll.

Astounded by the sheriff's attitude, the business elements hastily withdrew their petition for his ouster, in an effort to hush the affair. Paul Fuller, in charge of the strike for the United Textile Workers, ordered a temporary suspension of picketing to "prevent some serious outcome."

1,000 In Danville Pledge U.T.W. Support

DANVILLE, Va.—(FP)—At a secret meeting where more than 1,000 workers of the Riverside Dan River cotton mills took the oath of obligation in the United Textile Workers, Vice President Francis J. Gorman denied mill statements that the U. T. W. was trying to dictate management.

Gorman had sharply criticized the management of the mill as responsible for the inefficiency for the recent 10% wage cut and had offered U. T. W. cooperation in stabilizing labor costs and removing inefficiency in accordance with the labor-management cooperation plan worked out on the Baltimore & Ohio.

Reiterating his condemnation of the mill management, Gorman told the Dan River workers that \$75,000 a year men remained on the payroll despite a drop in the mill's stock from 268 to 75. While speedup is "driving the workers to desperation, they can see all around them in the mills wholesale waste and gross mismanagement."

Danville wages range between \$6 and \$15 a week, Gorman pointed out, and the 55-hour week is merely nominal. Actually operatives work 60 hours a week including lunch periods and many 70 and 80 hours in order to obtain a higher wage.

All union speakers were bitterly hostile to the Danville Bee and Register, morning and evening papers under the same ownership, which have suppressed union news and statements while giving free scope to the mill management for fanciful tales leveled against the U. T. W. Among speakers were Pres. R. T. Bowden, Organizer Paul J. Topping and Legislative Chairman W. C. Creekmore of the Virginia Federation of Labor.

Marion Mill Workers Discuss New Strike

MARION, N. C.—(FP)—This mill town is seething with excitement, both among the blacklisted strikers of last summer and the workers employed in the Marion and Clinchfield mills. Announcement by the mill management that the stretchout system is to be put back into effect has caused threats of a strike from those who returned to work without union sanction last fall. Before and after work they are seen knotted in small groups discussing the new order.

One hundred and thirty families numbering 735 men, women and children are facing starvation here. They are the victims of strikes at the two scab mills. Evicted from company owned shacks, they are now living in dugouts, barns and abandoned shacks, as many as 14 adults and children in two rooms.

The Quakers, who have been giving out flour, salt pork and beans to these people for the last three months, are leaving. The strikers then will be left to the mercy of the poorhouse. Every effort is being made to get them on small farms and to cutting timber back in the hills where most of them came from a few years ago. They are not the stout robust people they were when they came from the hills. Twelve hours

Progressives Take Reins In Re-Organization Of The United Mine Workers

(Continued from Page One)
equitable share of the fruits of their labor." The securing of the five day week was added to the demand in the old constitution for the six hour day. Unemployment insurance legislation was endorsed. The speech of Jessie Stephen, British labor leader, who addressed the convention, made such an impression that it will be printed in pamphlet form.

Frank Farrington was seated as a delegate on the third day of the convention despite the opposition of Brophy and Hagood.

Lewis Group Meets In Indianapolis

INDIANAPOLIS, Ind.—The convention of the United Mine Workers headed by John L. Lewis, which, it was repeatedly emphasized, was the thirty-first consecutive constitutional convention was called to order at 10 A. M., March 10 in Tomlinson Hall, two hours before the Springfield, Illinois, convention, also claiming to represent the U. M. W. A., was scheduled to go into session. At 12:01 a resolution covering the constitutional situation was adopted.

About a thousand delegates filled the hall. The delegations from Illinois and Kansas, stronghold of the insurgents, were particularly weak. The anthracite was well represented. The unorganized districts, where paper locals exist, had good quotas.

No outward show was made that the proceedings were being hastened in order to get through with the constitutional question. The delegates were too anathema to care. Immediately after the address of welcome John Gay, of Iowa, Chairman of the Credentials Committee, reported that his committee did not have ready the list of delegates and asked that all delegates be seated except in cases of contest or arrears of a local's dues. Corrections could be made later. The recommendation of the Credentials Committee was accepted.

Then, Van A. Bittner, of West Virginia, Secretary of the Constitutional Committee, was given permission to break into the order of business to report for his committee. He presented a resolution which will probably be the subject of much dispute within the trade unions and the courts, as the fight between the Indianapolis and Springfield groups grows more intense. Because of its importance the resolution is here quoted:

"BE IT RESOLVED, That the action of the International Executive Board in October, 1928, in submitting to the memberships for referendum vote the recommendation that the International Convention to be held in January, 1929, be postponed and the provisions of the International Constitution continue in force until changed by a Constitutional Convention; and the referendum of the memberships approving such postponement of the Convention and continuance of the Constitution, was in accordance with the precedent established in 1925, and approved by the last International Convention, and was a lawful and proper postponement of said convention and extension of said constitution; and

"BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That the existing International Constitution be and the same is hereby declared in full force and effect, except Section 13 of Article 20 (setting the expiration date of the 1927 constitution as March 31, 1929), and shall remain in force and effect pending its amendment or the adoption of a new constitution."

This resolution was adopted unanimously by a rising vote.

The Joint Report of the International officers, John L. Lewis, President; Philip Murray, Vice-

president, and Thomas Kennedy, Secretary-Treasurer, described the disorganization and the mechanization of the coal industry, the officers' work for the Watson Coal Regulation Bill, the displacement of labor and the internal political situation that arose out of the trouble in the Illinois District, No. 12.

The separate report of Secretary-Treasurer Kennedy for the half year ending December 1, 1929, indicates a balance on hand at that date of \$973,410. The Illinois District paid \$122,950 in per capita tax and \$11,546 in assessments, the largest contribution made by any district to the International office.

The officials of the Indiana State Federation of Labor, President Fritz and Secretary Taylor, in addresses to the convention, pledged their support to the Lewis administration.

As one method of helping the Labor Lyceum of Boro Park, a Bazaar has been arranged to be held in the Lyceum, 1377-42nd st., Brooklyn, March 22-30, inclusive. A souvenir journal will be published in connection with the Bazaar. Many Labor Unions have responded by sending in complimentary ads for the journal. Other unions are collecting articles of merchandise to be sold at the Bazaar.

Other locals that have not done anything to assure the success of the affair are urged to take it up at the next meeting. Each local should fall in line to help save this useful institution for the Labor movement. On the success of the Bazaar hinges the very existence of the Labor Lyceum. Complimentary ads and contributions of merchandise from individuals will be accepted with thanks by the committee.

Thomas in Newark Sunday

Norman Thomas speaks in Newark Sunday night, March 23, under auspices of The People's Institute Forum, in Auditorium, Universalist Church, Broad and Hill Streets, on "The Citizen and the Public Schools—what they owe each other, together with some remarks on the recent Papal Encyclical on Education." All meetings are non-partisan and non-sectarian, and free to the public, with questions and discussion by the audience.

WEVD Ball To Be Held At Beethoven Hall

(Continued from Page One)

tainers of the "air" as well as stage celebrities will make up a most attractive feature. Deacon Johnson's Radio Synopsators' one of Harlem's most favorite jazz bands, will supply the dance music until the early hours of the morning. Louis Bromberg, prominent artist, will provide appropriate settings for the ball which will turn the entire hall into a huge radio broadcasting studio, in addition to a number of other interesting features.

All indications in response to the announcement of this ball point to a huge turnout that will undoubtedly jam the hall. Tickets, which are available, are \$1.50 in advance and will be \$2.50 at the door. Save the difference by getting your tickets now at the Rand Book Store, 7 E. 15th Street; the Civic Club, 18 E. 10th Street; The Jewish Daily Forward, 175 East Broadway; the Boro Park Lyceum, 42nd Street and 14th Avenue, Brooklyn; the Brownsville Labor Lyceum, 219 Sackman Street, Brooklyn; 1167 Boston Road, Bronx, and all Greenwich Village Shops. Telephone and mail orders will be filled by writing WEVD, 45 West 45th Street. Telephone, Bryant 9166.

Senator Barlow, an interesting troglodytic specimen still preserved alive in the senate, commented in this vein: "After having carefully listened to his speech, I am of the opinion he did fine and had an audience of ardent listeners until he stepped down to the damnable scheme which he termed social justice legislation, but better known as the workmen's compensation act, and then he resolved himself into an unmistakable spokesman for the corporations and insurance companies and seemed to have forgotten the poor laboring devil he is supposed to represent."

SWANNANOVA WEAVERS STRIKE

SWANNANOVA, N. C.—(FP)—Weavers employed in the Beacon Blanket Co.'s southern mill at Swannanoa have struck against the stretchout system. The strikers predict their ranks will be increased by other mill workers.

The company's main plant is at New Bedford, Mass. The president is the originator of the Fried plan, a type of company union. Because Beacon mill conditions are among the best in the south, the strike is regarded as a portent of what is likely to happen throughout that section this summer.

GREEN IN MISSISSIPPI

JACKSON, Miss.—(FP)—Greeted cordially by the Mississippi legislature, Pres. William Green of the A. F. of L. heralded a coming industrial expansion in Mississippi and counseled the adoption of a workmen's compensation act. This state is one of the five in the country without such protection for injured workers and the dependents of those killed.

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No. Carolina Frees Killers Of Wiggins

Jury Acquits Five Members of Mob Who Shot Woman Textile Worker

CHARLOTTE, N. C.—(FP)—North Carolina's unwritten law, that union agitators go to the penitentiary while lynchers of unionists go home, has been upheld once more in the freeing of five of the members of the Lora mill mob who were in the murder of Ella May Wiggins, the Bessemer City union woman shot to death Sept. 14 while on the way to a National Textile Workers Union meeting in Gastonia.

Well-dressed witnesses marshaled by the Lora defense counsel testified monotonously to fake alibis; those at the scene of the murder, where the union truck was surrounded by a score or more of autos filled with mobsters, recited stories of "happenings" to be passing by and stopping to see an auto accident. The few who testified they heard a shot said that Ella May was killed by one of her fellow workers.

The southern adage that a mill worker's testimony is on a par with a Negro's, was given point by the jury, which ignored evidence from a score of occupants of the union truck that they were surrounded by a mob which opened fire on the open highway. A shot from Horace Wheeler's gun found its way to Ella May's heart, they testified, while other workers were fleeing across the open fields, followed by a rain of bullets.

The prosecution was crippled from the start by the unwillingness of Solicitor John C. Carpenter of Gaston county to prosecute his friends, the Lora mill boss-men. The burden of the state's case was thrown on State Attorney Gen. Brummitt, unaided, while a corps of Lora attorneys conducted the defense.

North Carolina's record of justice in labor disputes shows seven organizers condemned to prison for terms of 5 to 20 years for defending the Lora mill strikers' tent colony from an unwarranted attack by drunken police, during which Police Chief Aderholt was killed, possibly by a shot from a policeman's gun. Mobs composed of Gastonia business men carried on a reign of terror, which resulted in a few indictments for kidnapping and flogging, but no convictions. On the other hand many strikers were framed on various counts and sentenced to jail.

The verdict in the Wiggins case practically sets the state's seal of approval on murder and other violence against union organizers.

Haiti Wins Promise Of Early Election

WASHINGTON, (F.P.). President Hoover confirmed March 10, the announcement made in Haiti by Chairman Forbes of his Commission of Inquiry, that Hoover had agreed that on May 15 the Borno regime in Haiti is to be ended, and as soon thereafter as possible Gen. Russell, military dictator of the country, will be withdrawn. Presumably the American marines who now hold Haiti in subjection will be brought out with Russell or their numbers will be reduced to a small company.

Administration spokesmen admitted privately that the reason for this prompt reversal of the earlier attitude of the State and Navy departments that American rule in Haiti would continue until 1935 was due to the threats and fears voiced by the Haitian leaders during the past week that the Haitian people would rise in revolt if Borno held power after the demand made upon the Forbes commission, from the moment of its arrival in Haiti, that Borno and American military occupation be withdrawn quickly, that a majority of the commission forced a decision. Cables to Hoover left no doubt of the urgency of the crisis. Hoover waited until the Masons and the Catholic bishops joined in the demand, and then he agreed that Haiti should be allowed a free election this year.

So Borno is to be permitted to get out alive after May 15, while an interim president will be elected upon by the various Haitian leaders, pending an election which will create a legislative body authorized to choose the next constitutional president. A new treaty is to be drawn up—thereby confessing that the pretended treaty of 1917, continuing American rule until 1935, is invalid.

Entertainment to Aid Boro Park Lyceum

An entertainment for friends of the Boro Park Sunday School will be staged by the pupils of the school this Sunday afternoon, at 3 P. M., at the Boro Park Lyceum. The pupils of the three classes will sing, recite, dance and act for visitors, who will also be regaled with refreshments supplied by the local Socialist Party Branch.

Admission, of course, is free, and parents, party members, and friends are cordially invited to attend.

The school, which is one of the three being conducted in Greater New York at present, is now in a flourishing condition. Viola Levenson is the teacher of the junior class and Ethel Lurie of the intermediate. Samuel H. Friedman, principal of the schools, takes charge of the seniors.

50,000 Attend Funeral Of Philadelphia Striker

(Continued from Page One)
be the means of forcing the firm to settle the strike, which has been on eight weeks.

Stung to action by sharp criticism from labor and liberal sources, Mayor Mackey, whose former efforts toward arbitration were interrupted by preparations for departure on a pleasure trip to Florida, has now issued a virtual demand that the firm arbitrate. If they refuse, the mayor's statement points out they "will be responsible in the forum of public opinion" for any further bloodshed that may ensue.

Acknowledging that the strikers have "promptly and immediately" expressed their willingness to enter into arbitration proceedings, the mayor warns the Aberie firm that "the situation has reached the stage where the public will no longer view with any degree of patience either side that refuses to arbitrate or presents any far-fetched or manufactured excuse to interfere with this wholly American proposition."

Following the mayor's statement the Aberie mill executives issued another statement persisting in their bullheaded refusal to consider arbitration, and contending all over again that there is no strike and "there is nothing to arbitrate." This contention is what the mayor—a friend of labor on his record—calls a "far-fetched or manufactured excuse."

Nazareth, Pa. Strikers Keep Fight Strong

Jailings Fail to Dampen Spirit of 225 Hosiery Workers—City Labor Movement Awakened

(By a New Leader Correspondent)
NAZARETH, PA.—Here in one of those little satrapies for which many industrial states are notorious 225 men and women hosiery workers have been on strike since Nov. 4 against that contemptible device of American exploiters known as the "yellow dog" contract.

As a result of this struggle the central labor union which had been inactive for many months has taken on renewed life. The struggle has revealed that the chief public officials of the county are poorly disguised tools of the manufacturers and an effort will be made to oust them in the next election.

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It is these arrests with subsequent proceedings that have awakened members of other unions to the bias of a judge, a district attorney, a sheriff and other officials in favor of invested capital.

Eleven strikers were brought before the judge and were tried for rioting. A jury acquitted the accused but the judge has assessed the costs at 50 per cent. for 10 strikers, 25 per cent. for Miss Kaczor and 25 per cent. for the sheriff. This means \$30 for each of the 10 strikers, \$150 for Miss Kaczor, and \$150 for the sheriff.

The injustice of the judge in levying this financial toll upon strikers who were acquitted of the charge against them has aroused widespread resentment of the workers in the county. The judge himself at the trial had ruled on every point in favor of the prosecution and his bias was evident.

Hunger Strike Wins

The strikers refused to pay the costs and they were jailed. They immediately went on a hunger strike and four days later they were released. However, inspiring as this victory over the judge, the sheriff, and prosecuting attorney may be there is another aspect of the case that is important.

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Bronx Free Fellowship

"A. N. Whitehead and His Philosophy" will be the topic of Rev. Leon Rosser Land's address at the 8 o'clock Fellowship Service at the weekly meeting of the Bronx Free Fellowship, Azure Masonic Temple, 1591 Boston road, near East 172nd street, on Sunday evening, March 16th. At the 9 o'clock open forum, Solon De Leon will speak on "Is Communism Practicable in the United States?"

Solomon to Debate On Socialism Versus Liberalism, Capitalism

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Out of Sorts? That's Nature's warning

of delayed elimination of food wastes. Ex-Lax, the safe, delicious laxative, thoroughly cleanses the system. Tastes like chocolate—works like Nature.

Ex-Lax is the ideal family laxative, because it is a pure, delicious chocolate, combined with a harmless and tasteless laxative which is being prescribed by noted physicians. Ask for Ex-Lax by name and refuse imitations.

Keep "regular" with EX-LAX

The Chocolated Laxative

FORUMS AND LECTURES

THE COMMUNITY FORUM Park Ave. at 34th St. 8 P. M.—REPRESENTATIVE PEDRO GIL, Delegate from the Philippines. "SHALL THE FILIPINOS BE FREE?"

11 A. M.—MR. HOLMES "The Middle of Religion;" (1) "Theism, and the Questions It Does Not Answer." All Welcome Admission Free

— DEBATE! —

Rand School vs. Albright College for SOCIALISM vs. CAPITALISM

RAND SCHOOL AUDITORIUM 7 E. 15th St. FRIDAY, MARCH 21, at 8:30 Admission \$2.25

This is the second of two debates between the Rand School and Albright College; the first was held in Reading, Pa., March 7th.

PEOPLE'S INSTITUTE

At Cooper Union Eighth St. and Astor Place at 8 o'clock

Friday Evening, March 21st DR. EVERETT DEAN MARTIN "The Psychology of Progress" (B) Thought in the 17th Century The Rise and Influence of Mechanism

Sunday Evening, March 23rd DR. MORTIMER J. ADLER "Ethics and Social Science" The Revelation of the Good

Tuesday Evening, March 25th DR. EDWARD J. FRY "Natural Science" Theories of Evolution

At Muhlenberg Library 269 W. 23rd Street at 8:30 o'clock

Saturday Evening, March 15th DR. V. J. MCGILL "Phenomenology" The Logic of Language

Monday Evening, March 17th PROFESSOR KARL L. LLEWELLYN "Law in Society" Non-Legal Social Control

Wednesday Evening, March 19th MR. CLIFTON P. FADINAM "Contemporary European Literature" Cross Currents on the Continent: Preliminary Survey

Thursday Evening, March 20th DR. E. G. SPAULDING "The Ways and Means of Reasoning" Reasoning in Empiricism: Locke, Berkeley, Hume

THE BRONX FREE FELLOWSHIP Azure Masonic Temple, 1591 Boston Rd. (Near East 172nd Street, Bronx) SUNDAY, MARCH 16th, 1936

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EAST SIDE OPEN FORUM THE CHURCH OF ALL NATIONS 9 Second Avenue

Speaker: ABRAHAM EPSTEIN "OLD AGE SECURITY" Sunday, March 15th 8 P. M. Admission Free Everyone Invited

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Entertainment to Aid Boro Park Lyceum

An entertainment for friends of the Boro Park Sunday School will be staged by the pupils of the school this Sunday afternoon, at 3 P. M., at the Boro Park Lyceum. The pupils of the three classes will sing, recite, dance and act for visitors, who will also be regaled with refreshments supplied by the local Socialist Party Branch.

Admission, of course, is free, and parents, party members, and friends are cordially invited to attend.

The school, which is one of the three being conducted in Greater New York at present, is now in a flourishing condition. Viola Levenson is the teacher of the junior class and Ethel Lurie of the intermediate. Samuel H. Friedman, principal of the schools, takes charge of the seniors.

50,000 Attend Funeral Of Philadelphia Striker

(Continued from Page One)
be the means of forcing the firm to settle the strike, which has been on eight weeks.

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LABOR AND CAPITAL IN WASHINGTON

Commerce Taken Under Wing By Federal Government While Labor Begg Unsuccessfully, For Favors

By James Oneal

WE HAVE often wished that a comparative study were made of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce and the American Federation of Labor. A comparison of the two organizations in their origins, development, policies, influence, aims and power would provide an informative contribution to a knowledge of American economic and political history. The comparative study would also have the value of estimating the influence of the respective organizations on the government at Washington.

Such a study is now available in a work by Professor Harwood Lawrence Childs, "Labor and Capital in National Politics," Columbus, Ohio, Ohio University Press. The author, who is Professor of Political Science in Bucknell University, is not interested in proving any thesis and the only conclusions he reaches are presented in some impressions of the influence of group pressure on Congress. However, his comparative method has brought out certain facts that are of special importance and this makes his study invaluable for all who wish to understand some phases of our contemporary labor movement.

In comparing the origins of the two organizations a contrast immediately appears which throws light on the evolution of labor and capitalist organizations. The author does not go beyond the period of labor organization in 1881, the year which witnessed the beginnings of the A. F. of L., or the year 1868 when the National Board of Trade was organized. In fact, for the purposes of his study, a consideration of earlier periods is not necessary.

Taft Fosters a Commerce Chamber

The origin of the modern trade unions in the eighties is familiar. Dissatisfaction with the Knights of Labor resulted in the founding of the Federation. The decade of the eighties witnessed some intense labor struggles with much opposition by the employing class.

to labor organization and certainly no display of sympathy on the part of the government for trade unionism. On the contrary, in the second decade court injunctions began to play an important role against the organized working class.

The Chamber of Commerce and its parent organization had no such difficulties to face. The employing class had some fears of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act of 1890 and later of President Roosevelt's crusade against "malefactors of great wealth" but those fears were groundless. The Sherman Act was a concession to small capitalists and business men who were being pushed into the background by the new rich organized into big corporations. Subsequent history has shown that the only "trusts" injured by the Sherman Act were trade unions while Roosevelt's "big stick" did not hurt any of the new rich.

Roosevelt's heir was President Taft and it was under the administration of the latter and at his suggestion that the Chamber of Commerce was organized. A footnote on page 10 of this study makes reference to this and we hastened to consult Richardson's "Messages and Papers of the Presidents." The recommendation is contained in the message of December 7, 1911, and reads as follows:

"Some central organization in touch with associations and chambers of commerce throughout the country and able to keep purely American interests in closer touch with different phases of commercial affairs would, I believe, be of great value. Such organization might be managed by a committee composed of those now actively carrying on the work of some of the larger associations, and there might be added to the committee, as members, one or two officials of the Department of State and one or two officials from the Department of Commerce and Labor and representatives of the appropriate committees of Congress. The

authority and success of such an organization would evidently be enhanced if the Congress should see fit to prescribe its scope and organization through legislation which would give to it some official standing as that, for example, of the National Red Cross.

This is one of the most remarkable recommendations ever made by a President. To get its significance, assume that he had urged more thorough organization of labor, that the A. F. of L. should also obtain the assistance of two departments of the government, of certain committees of Congress, and also be granted "some official standing" like the Red Cross. Would that not have been considered an amazing performance? It would. The recommendation is all the more amazing considering that its author had become one of the most conspicuous injunction judges, especially as Chief Justice of the U. S. Supreme Court.

Commerce Chamber Launched

This picture of government initiative in favor of capitalist and financial interests is quite in contrast with the struggle of labor to organize against these economic powers, also facing the opposition of judges and too often executive and police powers of city, state and nation. Is it surprising that organized labor does not enjoy "some official standing" before the powers of government?

But recommendation was followed by action, the government through President Taft and a cabinet official playing the role of affectionate nurse in assisting the organization of the Chamber of Commerce. Events moved rapidly. Within two months after the President's recommendation three officials of the Department of Commerce and Labor met with six representatives of various capitalist organizations in the office of the Bureau of Manufactures, one organization being the National Association of Manufacturers and

a bitter enemy of trade unions. The result was an invitation to 2,000 commercial bodies to send representatives to a conference in Washington. On April 22, 1912, the delegates met and were called to order by Secretary of Commerce and Labor Nagel. President Taft welcomed the delegates. "Stirred by the desire to make the collective mind of American business articulate," writes the author, "and to direct the ship of state through channels that would please the commercial mind, business and the government cooperated in organizing the Chamber, and an attempt was made to bring within its membership as wide a range of business opinion as possible. President Wilson, in an address before the second annual convention, emphasized the advisability of this action."

The Gov't Nurses it Along

Having obtained such a splendid start, this government ward was not turned adrift to shift for itself. It was not born an infant. It was a giant at its birth and yet no mother ever gave it more tender nursing than the government gave the Chamber. In fact, within a few years the relations between the two became so close that it is difficult to determine whether the government was the parent of the Chamber or the Chamber was the parent of the government.

The author gives an interesting account of the structure of the Chamber, its expansion and influence and power and declares that in membership and finances it "has at the present time reached a peak never attained before." We wonder if the trade unions would not be able to report the "peak" of attainment if they had been blessed with an affectionate Uncle Sam instead of an Old Scrooge who coddled them with an injunction stick at every opportunity. The sources of income of the

Chamber are ample. Its annual budget is over two million dollars and its assets in 1927 were over three millions. It has its own magnificent building in Washington, which, appropriately enough, faces Lafayette Park across which is located the White House. It is efficiently organized into six geographical divisions and has a large staff of officers grouped into four major divisions; administrative, research, promotion, and service functions. The following paragraph indicates the enormous work of the main office:

"Machines for mimeographing and addressing mail matter are running day and night, and division of labor is carried to the point that clerks do nothing but sort incoming and outgoing mail, and men are assigned exclusively to the task of wrapping and placing in envelopes Chamber literature. There are probably very few, if any, organizations better equipped to lay down a barrage of 'propaganda' than the Chamber."

U. S. Money Hunts Markets

Is the Chamber a political power at Washington? It is. It has "been in a position to make use of the President's influence to a marked degree" and there "seems to be a feeling of confidence on the part of the President in the program and aims of the organization." Through a special committee the Chamber studied the Department of Commerce in 1913, submitted a report in co-operation with the Secretary of Commerce, and obtained what it wanted. The Chamber obtained a permanent Foreign Commerce Service and increased appropriations for hunting markets. It obtained a Tariff Commission in 1917. After the end of the World War permanent committees from the Chamber were created for the purpose of cooperating with the Commerce Department, and in some cases these committees became the agencies through which the expert heads of the different divisions of the Chamber were selected. This cooperation between

the Chamber and the Department of Commerce was also spread over the country by means of a procedure whereby the district managers of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce were instructed to keep in close touch with the local secretaries of commerce, thereby bringing about a coordination of private initiative and governmental assistance.

This connection may be well to note that at various times business associations have offered to subsidize particular administrative bureaus and agencies, provided such bureaus and agencies would carry on certain investigations desired by the association. . . . Mention should be made of the numerous conferences that have been held, sometimes under the auspices of the Chamber and at other times under the direction and initiative of the Federal agency. During the year 1923, 335 conferences were held by the Secretary of Commerce and members of the Department with committees of various branches of commerce and industry. . . . Secretary of Commerce Hoover was at this period occasionally lecturing on the virtues of "American individualism" and, curiously enough, some labor chiefs were doing likewise, and yet the whole trend at Washington has been a government of the masses by business and for business.

How Labor Fared

How have the trade unions fared at Washington? That story is as interesting as the Chamber-government alliance. In the first place the author notes that the A. F. of L. has not changed during a period of remarkable change except in an increase in size and funds. Since the nineteenth century the A. F. of L. has been the Federation's office staff, resources, funds and influence do not compare with the Chamber's. He points out "a remarkable degree of official longevity in the case of members of the Executive Council," a consequence of timidity in facing new problems, "closer association with employers and government officials" after the World War, and a trend of opinion "in the direction of strategy and away from militancy."

cy." His study impressed him with the view that the labor chiefs "regard their own programs with some jealousy" and that "ideas coming from the rank and file would be a source of disturbance rather than enlightenment." Summing up his conclusions regarding this aspect of the Federation he writes:

"One cannot observe many of the conventions of the Federation without becoming impressed with the degree of control over policies exercised by the leaders. To the outsider these leaders appear as a caste, set off from the rank and file of delegates, deciding major questions at issue, and supporting or opposing them as a body rather than as individuals. In spite of the democratic form of the convention procedure, therefore, the very loyalty of the lower for the higher officials, the very power exercised by these higher officials, frequently discourage real expressions of opinion on the part of the mass of delegates."

17 Years to Get Labor Dept.

We are interested in the influence of the Federation on the government at Washington compared with the influence enjoyed by the Chamber. The comparison establishes a contrast. The Chamber got vigorous government action within two months after President Taft urged a capitalist-government alliance but the Federation pleaded for 17 years, from 1896 to 1913, before it obtained the establishment of the Department of Labor. Even then "no provision was made for paying salaries, maintaining quarters, or performing in general the varied duties of the Department." Not till after the World War have the Department funds been modestly ample and in 1920 the Federation had to fight certain efforts to "scrap the Department of Labor." As for the "advisory contacts" established by the Chamber, few have been established by the Federation. The Federation was represented at the President's Unemployment Conference in 1919 and Agricultural

Conference in 1922 "but under conditions that would hardly facilitate the further harmonizing of relationships with the various administrative departments."

It is a rather dismal story and we wonder how the labor chiefs could have summoned the courage to report to the Toronto convention last year that labor has a majority in both houses of Congress!

The author makes a significant observation which the writer of this review has frequently stressed regarding the homage that is paid to "individualism" and "self-government" by both the Federation and organizations representing employers. We quote:

"The laissez faire attitude, however much it still persists with reference to the legislature, may no longer be regarded as the dominant pattern of the mental processes of the group with reference to public administration. . . . At the same time that the leaders of the Chamber and the Federation are pleading for 'self-government' they are insisting that the administrative branches of the state perform an increasingly large number of services for them as agents of the group. On the one hand, they seek to curtail the legislative, regulatory functions of the state, they endeavor to enlarge the service, and administrative functions."

Business Is All, Labor Is Mud

This is the sober judgment of one who writes from an objective point of view and it is thoroughly sound. The business class is thoroughly wedged into the government at Washington and the workers of this country have everything to lose and nothing to gain by offering an archaic philosophy of "individualism" to a few more organizations of "innocents" that the old views of the Federation have not served the working masses while it left a free field for powerful financial and capitalist groups.

This book is an excellent contribution to an understanding of the economic and political history of the past twenty years. With out intending it, the author has undermined most of the cherished views of the Federation chiefs. The work is supplemented with an excellent bibliography.

Hillquit Hits Police Violence

Socialist Chairman Says Administering of Punishment Is Province of Courts - Calls Terrorism 'Revolt'

A DEMAND that the police cease their policy of beating Communist and other demonstrators was made by Morris Hillquit, national chairman of the Socialist Party last week, following the rioting in a number of cities. Mr. Hillquit directed his request to Police Commissioner Whalen of New York City in the form of a letter. It is not the province of the police, but the duty of the courts to administer punishment after a person has been convicted at a fair trial of a crime, Mr. Hillquit said.

"Mr. Hillquit's letter follows:

"Hon. Grover A. Whalen, Police Commissioner, New York City.

"Sir:

"Since the deplorable incident of last Thursday evidence is accumulating that the acts of violence in Union Square were wholly provoked by members of the police force and that they were brutal and revolting.

"The meeting on the Square was peaceful, and it was only when a few hundred Communists attempted to form on Broadway for a march on City Hall, following the instructions of their leaders, that a justification for police interference seemed to arise.

"The police were within their rights in barring an attempt to parade without license, although it would undoubtedly have been fairer and wiser to permit the parade under police escort."

"But there was absolutely no justification for the vicious, wholesale and indiscriminate assaults committed by the police on those who remained behind in Union Square and gave no sign of an intention to join the parade.

"On Friday morning one of our newspapers published an A. P. photograph showing a burly policeman in plain clothes assisted by two uniformed members of the force savagely beating a puny individual with a piece of rubber hose. The legend under the photograph is 'Police administering punishment to a Communist.' Just how the police ascertained the political views or affiliations of their victims and by what authority they proceeded to the primitive method of correcting his political heterodoxy may be an interesting question, but it is rather disconcerting to find that the photograph was not taken in some obscure corner of the benighted Balkans, but in the heart of the City of New York, in the United States of America.

"It is supposed to be the function of the police force to preserve law and order. If a person is

found violating the law it is the duty of the police to apprehend him and to bring him before the proper court for a fair and orderly trial, and it is the province of the court to mete out punishment. The right which the police is arrogating to itself to construe 'crimes' not defined in the Penal Law and to administer physical punishment on the spot is intolerable in any civilized and democratic community.

"The lawless and disorderly conduct of the constituted guardians of law and order is infinitely more dangerous than any number of 'demonstrations' of a small and irresponsible political group.

"While I have no sympathy with the aims and methods of Communism I submit that political freedom is priceless and must be accorded even to the most insignificant minority groups.

"I am writing this letter to assure you that the chorus of approval throughout the city is not harmonious as the Chamber of Commerce has represented it to you, and that there is a considerable body of public opinion which strongly resents the growing practice of the police to trample upon the civil liberties and constitutional rights of citizens.

"Your very truly,

"MORRIS HILLQUIT."

G. WEED

2306-G. WEED-New York City-1,500 KC
SUNDAY, MARCH 16
11:00-Dietrich's Review
11:30-Real Estate Review
11:45-Charles Brinkley's Home Beautiful
12:00-Tim Signal
12:01-Edgar Allan Poe
12:15-Dan's Beauty Shop
12:30-James McCon's Orchestra
12:45-Weinstein's Entertainers
1:00-The Music Box
1:02-Mr. and Mrs. Cantor
1:30-Jamaica Program
1:45-Charles Brinkley's Religious Society of Friends
2:45-Greene Street Quartette
3:15-Liberal Music Club
3:30-Sylvan Studio Mixed Chorus, Male
4:00-Edgar Allan Poe
4:15-Henry Spencer Williams, "Tennent's and Contract Jones Labor"
4:30-George Art Group, James Egbert Allen, directing: Armond W. Scott, Justice and Peace, the Demand of the Hour
MONDAY, MARCH 17
12:00-Melody Lady
12:05-John Warren, Gerald MacDonald
12:20-John Warren, Gerald MacDonald
12:40-John Warren, Gerald MacDonald
1:00-Social Service Committee, New York
1:15-Charles Brinkley's Home Beautiful
1:40-S. P. A. T. "Thinking Thru"
2:00-Carrie Torrence, piano
2:15-John Warren, Gerald MacDonald
2:30-Virginia May, "Evangeline"
2:45-LeRoy Kent, tenor
3:00-Lorenson Johnson, tenor
3:15-Anton Romila, "Labor Temple"
3:45-Dorothy Bolk, contralto
4:00-Art L. "Pippa Passes," Marion
4:20-Peter Marocco, violin
4:30-Ernest McCoy, soprano
4:45-Winifred Harper Cooley, "Broadway"
5:00-S. A. DeWitt, "Chatterbox"
5:15-Frances Weaver, coloratura soprano
5:30-LeRoy Kent, tenor
5:45-LeRoy Kent, tenor
6:00-Membership Drive of the Socialist Party
6:15-Basilis Trio
6:30-McAlester Coleman, "Talking It"
6:45-Nelson B. Scott, tenor
7:00-Nelson B. Scott, tenor

Communists Attack Meeting of Rival Brings Milwaukee Riot

"Leader," Socialist Daily, Denounces Police as "Cossacks" - Raid on Communist Headquarters Called "Idiotic" - Full Investigation Demanded - Hoan Says Communists Have Been Seeking Disturbances

(By a New Leader Correspondent)
MILWAUKEE, Wis.—Communist leadership of an unemployed demonstration here led to a riot in which 13 people were injured. Five Communists who participated in the street battle are held under charge of inciting to riot with the district attorney demanding a maximum penalty of a year in prison.

The entire affair culminated with a raid on the Communist headquarters in which hundreds of police took part. The riot had its beginning when the Communists objected to a rival unemployment demonstration. Charles Klein mounted a concrete block to praise the city's for station which had been established the day before to relieve the unemployed.

Irritated because Klein's oratory was drawing the crowd away from the Communist speakers, the Communist leaders first menaced Klein with their fists and then attacked him. Police came to his defense and the fight was on.

"It is obvious that a few Communist agitators have attempted to stir up trouble with the police that would result in arrest," Mayor Daniel W. Hoan said. The Police Department is not under the jurisdiction of the Socialist mayor.

"I am not passing judgment upon the police for what occurred late yesterday," Mayor Hoan added. "I was not a witness to any of the trouble and have not received any other report on it than what I read in the newspapers."

Parade Without Permits
The leaders in the trouble have been trying to promote it for a long time. When they first appeared in my office several weeks ago I advised them to get a permit to hold a parade and to hold their meeting where traffic would not be obstructed. The streets are for all of the people. "Since then they held three parades without permits and continued to block traffic. The police up to yesterday at least have treated them with the utmost fairness."

"While they have asked for free speech for themselves they have denied it to others. When other persons have started to speak in the same vicinity they have interrupted their meetings even if the speakers did not interfere with their meetings. Others were threatened and in some instances struck. They also attempted to break up our efforts to supply food to the unemployed. "The demonstration yesterday should convince the legislature of the need of unemployment insurance. Whenever there is much

unemployment the unemployed must be taken care of through county outdoor relief, community fund and free soup kitchens."

Leader Raps Police

The Milwaukee Leader, organ of the Socialist Party, demands a complete investigation in an editorial denouncing the behavior of the police in raiding Communist headquarters.

"Yesterday's riot scenes in Milwaukee," says the Leader, undoubtedly were precipitated by a silly desire to create excitement where none existed. To that end the Milwaukee Police Department was made to look foolish. Among the more tragic consequences were the breaking of heads, the suppression of free speech, and the idiotic raiding of the Communist headquarters.

"Inquiry so far indicates that the whole violent proceeding resulted because an afternoon newspaper man wanted to 'make a good news story.' And so a popular officer of the department, Dan Kugler, and some jobless men, otherwise harmless, were among those sent to the hospital."

"There should be an immediate investigation of the affair. "The Leader holds no brief for Communist philosophy and it has little time for those agitators who are taking advantage of the serious unemployment situation to cause trouble. But the fact remains that they, as well as all other groups, have an unequal right to undisturbed assembly."

The Story of the Battle

The Milwaukee Leader carries the following account of the riot and the incidents that followed:

"The riot had its start and flamed up with almost the twinkling of an eye when a counter demonstration was started in the city market against the efforts of the Communists to incite the crowd."

A member of the Milwaukee "army of the unemployed," Charles Klein, 2117 Wright Street, had mounted a concrete block to praise the city's food station in the Army market established yesterday and to give credit to Mayor Hoan for starting it.

Speaker Is Attacked
Irritated because Klein's oratory was drawing the crowd away from the Communist orators, the Communist leaders first menaced Klein with their fists and then attacked him.

and assured the crowd that a strong appeal would be made when the committee of workers met with the common council Monday.

Talks of City's Help

Another Communist then began to speak when Klein mounted a cement block on the suggestion of Sidney Kaufman, a reporter on an afternoon Milwaukee newspaper.

Peter J. Zisch, one of the leaders in the movement for relief of the unemployed, counsel against Klein's taking any part in the demonstration but Kaufman and Klein thought it would be a good thing to tell the crowd while it was assembled, that the city was doing its utmost to help the jobless.

"Klein got upon the block," Zisch, an eye-witness, declared. "Kaufman got the photograph of his paper circled around the riot and the crowd came rushing over to see what was going on. The crowd was orderly at the start."

A few of the Communist leaders ran over and began to elbow through the crowd. A woman in plain dress, and especially angry and forcing her way up to Klein began to heckle him and shook her fist in his face.

"Klein had hardly spoken 50 words when he uttered the word 'Communist' and the tumult began. More leaders came over and Klein's voice was drowned out with cat-calls. Klein simply stood on his block and waved at the crowd to quiet down."

Speaker Knocked From Perch
The Communist woman shook her fist at this point within a few inches of Charles's nose and one of the Communist leaders struck him in the jaw knocking him from his perch on the concrete block.

At this point many witnesses coincide with Zisch in saying that the police, led by Motorcycle Sergeant Dan Kugler, rushed up the stairs and into the Communist headquarters. A peaceful sight met the gaze of the police on their arrival in the hall. Two men were playing checkers at a table and an elderly man and his wife were looking on the police with astonishment. Not a door except that leading into the Communist office was found to be locked and about ten youngsters wearing red shawls, badge of their membership in the Communist "Young Pioneers," were ranged along a bench, boyishly enjoying the excitement.

Demand City Recognize Russia

While the above was taking place, the Communists served their demands on Milwaukee common council. Among the things demanded was that the City of Milwaukee recognize Russia. The Communists also demanded of the city work or wages, appropriation of \$45,000,000 for relief, free coal, food and clothing, no rent, free street car rides, "complete unemployment insurance to be provided by taxing the bosses," "let the workers regulate the speed of machines in factories," etc. They also demanded an immediate answer.

Socialists Fight Whalen "Red" Scare

(Continued from Page One)
munists fired laid him open to the commission of a felony. Oneal denounced Whalen's utterances as "lawless and fantastic."

Oneal Rides Figures

Said Oneal:

"The actions of Police Commissioner Whalen in relation to the recent Communist demonstrations repeat the lawless activities of Attorney General Palmer in 1919, activities that induced twelve distinguished lawyers to indict the Department of Justice at the bar of public opinion. Like the former Attorney General, Mr. Whalen according to his own boasts, has employed provocative agents in the Communist organizations and these agents have incited the violence which the police were instructed to suppress."

"What is to be said of a Police Commissioner who is quoted as saying that some of his undercover men carried 'banners' demanding the overthrow of the government" and that one of his agents attacked a policeman? By what process of reasoning can a public official justify such conduct or make it square with his oath of office?

"By his own admission Commissioner Whalen was one of the most lawless citizens at the Union Square demonstration. "His publication of alleged data regarding the number of organized Communists in New York City is also in accord with the 1919 model. He credits them with having 9,700 members in this city. Any person who has followed the history of the Communist movement in this country knows that this is absurd."

"I assert that all the Communist organizations in this country count on the Commissioner Whalen credit to ride in New York City alone. The Communist Party is split into three groups, each making war upon the other two. My estimate is that the party which is recognized in Moscow has about 5,000 members and even this may be an over estimate. The Trotsky group has less than a thousand and the followers of the Lovestone group may have a little more than a thousand. It would be a liberal estimate to say that the total membership of the three groups throughout the nation is 7,000.

membership. The Communist Party organizes "innocent clubs" and these duplicate the members of the party and include a few naive persons who do not understand that they are being used by these camouflaged clubs.

"If Mr. Whalen were to ascertain the membership of an Anti-Imperialist League, a few more organizations of "innocents" which also duplicate the membership of the Communist Party he probably would be able to figure twenty or thirty thousand organized Communists in New York City."

"Mr. Whalen has proven to be an excellent publicity agent of New York Communists for he has acted as they would have him act in such affairs. Their membership has been declining for years and their triangular internal war has further depleted their ranks, but a witless Police Commissioner has infused some needed vitality into the Communist movement and has given it the opportunity to report its growing influence to its chiefs in Moscow."

"Would it not be better for Mr. Whalen to run down some of the gangsters who infest the city and who make life unsafe than to spend his time inciting violence and striking down the Bill of Rights? Can he report some progress in running down Rothstein's murderers?"

"I have always been an uncompromising opponent of Communism and with all other Socialists I dissent from the inverted Communism of Whalen. His secret agents play the same role as the Russian Cheka. His proposal to deport political dissidents follows the example of Stalin in deporting the political opponents of the Soviet Union. His suggestion that Communists be discharged by their employers is like the Bolshevik policy of refusing employment to dissenters."

"Would it not be a good policy for the Police Commissioner to take an elementary course in the meaning of the Bill of Rights?"

At The Rand School

The Spring term at the Rand School will open on March 17. Some new courses will be added to the curriculum and many of the most popular of the Winter courses will be continued. Mr. Osman's course in Psychology and Mr. Berenson's course in the Appreciation of Literature will continue and no doubt will be popular as they always have been. Among the new courses will be the following: Proposed Roads to Freedom, Algernon Lee; Masters of Comedy and Satire, E. L. Turtel; Society and Human Nature, Dr. Margaret Mead; and Heredity and Human Affairs, Dr. John H. Fry.

Of the two newcomers to the teaching staff Dr. Mead is from the American Museum of Natural History and Dr. Fry is Professor of Biology at New York University.

The School also announces a series of Literary Events. During March and April we shall have with us Elmer Rice, Robert Morris Lovett, Theodore Dreiser, Gilbert Seldes, John Erskine and Stephen Vincent Benet. Interested friends are advised to watch the advertising of the Rand School for dates of these and other events. Or, better yet, send to the School at East 15th Street for announcements.

Ordway Tead to Speak

Mr. Ordway Tead, a member of the Department of Industry at the New York School of Social Work, an instructor in personnel administration at Columbia University and an authority on problems of industrial relations, will speak at the Society for Ethical Culture Meeting House Monday evening, March 17th, on the subject "Creative Leadership and Management Objectives." The lecture is under the auspices of the Business Men's Group of the Society.

A PAGE OF EXCLUSIVE FEATURES

The Miners Seek Democracy

SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS

THEY began writing a new page in the labor history of this country, the rank and filers of the United Mine Workers of America who met in what they call a "Reorganization Convention" of their union, in this city early in the morning of March 10.

From the first bang of the chairman's gavel throughout all the proceedings that followed, one could sense among the four hundred delegates the spirit of revolt against the administration of John L. Lewis, for the past eleven years President of the U. M. W. of A., and a fighting determination to bring about a new deal for the coalminers of America.

Here was essentially a gathering of the men of the picks. These were obviously workmen who can move familiarly enough among underground entries and working-places but are ill at ease when expressing themselves before a crowd. Nevertheless they forgot that when once they started in to tell of the wrongs which they charge their leaders have inflicted upon them and they were articulate enough when it came to democratic procedure in conducting a convention.

Always in the back of the mind of every speaker there seemed to run memories of days not so distant when the United Mine Workers of America were the largest and strongest and most militant group inside the organized labor movement of the country. And practically every speaker, no matter how cut and dried his motion might be, made it evident that this convention, at any rate was composed of men resolved to restore that old prestige of the miners.

Not that this is a radical convention. Extremists soon discovered that they were not wanted in the hall. No time was spent in the discussion of theories. No sooner had President Harry Fishwick of the Illinois Miners called the assemblage to order and the official call to the convention containing its blistering indictment of Lewis's leadership and its hot demands for the ousting of the old officials been read by Walter Nesbit, Secretary of the Illinois Miners, than the convention got right down to business.

A temporary credentials committee headed by Charles Clements read off the list of delegates and instantly the motion was made by John Brophy of Pennsylvania that all except Frank Farrington be accepted and that Farrington's name be referred back to the committee for further consideration.

Farrington is in ill favor with a great number of the delegates for having accepted a position with the Peabody Coal Company of Illinois, although he has since that time been readmitted into the union and his credentials were approved by his local union.

Farrington was not in the hall when Brophy made his motion, though he later showed up at the convention.

Brophy's motion precipitated a long wrangle over procedure which came to an abrupt halt when the delegates began shouting for Alexander Howat, of Kansas, (a hero with the rank and filers) to take the chair.

Fishwick yielded to Howat and the latter soon had things running smoothly.

In defiance of the usual procedure at such gatherings the delegates then demanded that members of the various committees be elected rather than appointed by the chair and furthermore that the election be by districts so as to assure equal representation on all the important committees of all the twelve districts represented.

Democracy under these conditions is a slow procedure. These men were bound together by a common desire for something new and very different from the conduct of their union affairs. But they did not know one another and so it was necessary to have the various nominees for the committee jobs go up on the platform and be looked over by the crowd. A trying ordeal, but one hugely enjoyed by the diggers who constituted themselves the judges of the affair.

There was all the way through, a tenseness about this Springfield convention that has not been present in a labor gathering of consequence for many years. The delegates, every last coal digger, realized well enough what it meant to have a hand in setting up a rank and file organization in defiance of the powerful Lewis machine. Now and then reports would come from Indianapolis where Lewis was gathering his forces, as to the doings there. Springfield convention started by stealing a march on the Lewis faction, if, as is altogether probable, litigation will ensue from these two rival gatherings. A eleven twenty-one o'clock on the first day, the Reorganization Convention declared that it was an authorized convention of the United Mine Workers of America and thereby staked out its prior claim to the use of the famous name. The Indianapolis meeting did not get around to organizing until noon.

"But all that legal stuff won't amount to anything," said a pick-miner, one of a strong delegation from Franklin County in Southern Illinois, usually supposed to be a Lewis stronghold, "once we get started bumping up against the Lewis outfit. Then we'll find out whether a bunch of rank and filers like us is going to run our own union or whether we've got to take our orders from Indianapolis."

In and out among the delegates moved men who in days past have led many desperate fights on behalf of the miners. Adolph Germer, Powers Hapgood, come all the way from distant Denver to be in on this fight. Oral Daugherty of Ohio, John Brophy, who ran against Lewis for President of the miners and August Dorchy of Kansas who came up with Alexander Howat. There, too, were men from the Lewis camp, looking on anxiously as the convention appeared to be making progress, and a scattering of interested labor progressives, including A. J. Muste and Tom Tippet of Brookwood Labor College, Paul Porter of the League for Industrial Democracy and Clarence Senior Secretary of the Socialist Party.

Reporters from all the large news services and many of the Eastern dailies were at the prearranged and there also a host of economists and freelance writers came to see how democracy fares among the miners today.

McAlister Coleman.

Unemployment Insurance Here And There

By Harry W. Laidler

IN the United States, according to the National Bureau of Economic Research, our unemployed during the period 1920 to 1927 inclusive numbered any way from a minimum of 1,400,000 to 4,200,000—nearly a million and a half as a minimum in the most prosperous of post-war years to three times that number in periods of depression, and these were rock bottom minimum figures. The actual situation was probably considerably worse. At the end of the period, according to the Bureau, there were on the average, because of the swift displacement of workers by the machines and other technical changes, some 650,000,000 more unemployed than in 1920.

During the past few months, we have been again faced with a period of depression of worse proportions than any since 1921. How many millions are wandering the streets, begging for the privilege of work, and crowding the breadlines of our great cities it is impossible to tell. What we do know is that throughout the length and breadth of the land hundreds of thousands of workers and their families are suffering bitterly for lack of the bare necessities of life, many face to face with starvation. A circular letter from one of the largest relief organizations in the country states that the demand for relief on them today is 87 per cent greater than it was this time a year ago.

Since the war we have added to seasonal unemployment and cyclical unemployment, technological unemployment. From 1919 to 1927, the number of workers in our factories has decreased by some three-quarters of a million, despite a considerable increase in the manufacturing product. Never before in the history of the country have shifts from one occupation to another been so numerous. During the transition period from job to job, in good times and bad, the burden borne by the worker is a great one. Society should help the worker to bear that burden.

Society should provide for a long ranged program of public works. It should develop a competent and comprehensive system of public employment exchanges. It should likewise initiate a system of unemployment insurance.

It was in 1916 that Congressmen Meyer London introduced the first bill for federal unemployment insurance. Since 1915 18 bills on this subject have been introduced into state legislatures in New York, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Wisconsin, Pennsylvania and Minnesota, that in Wisconsin being defeated by a narrow majority. In 1918, Assemblyman Louis Waldman, Socialist, introduced the first Social Insurance bill in the legislature of the Empire State. At present a well considered measure drawn by Alfred Baker Lewis is before the Massachusetts legislature.

The British organized their system of unemployment insurance as far back as 1911. The original act has been frequently amended. The total number of workers now un-

der the act numbers over 12,000,000, and includes most wage earners outside of agricultural employees and domestic servants. By the present act, the workers contribute about one per cent of their wages, the employers, slightly more than one per cent of their wage bill, and the government about one-half the contribution of the other two, in addition to out-of-work benefits and administrative costs. Those eligible for insurance are supposedly required to have paid 30 contributions in the preceding two years, although the industrial situation in the United Kingdom since the war has compelled the payment of insurance to those contributing a reasonable number of payments in that period. There have been specific criticisms against certain provisions of the insurance acts, but few criticisms of late against the principle of insurance against this hazard of industrial life. It is unfortunate that a type of out-of-work benefit first instituted in England in 1918 immediately after the war to take care of the war veterans, and sometimes referred to as "a dole," has been often confused with the regular system of unemployment insurance which is no more of an unearned "dole" than is any other form of insurance.

In October, 1927, Germany adopted a comprehensive system of insurance against unemployment, covering no less than 17,000,000 employees. In that country, as in England, the insurance is compulsory. Unlike the British act, the fund here is paid by the industry and the worker, with no contribution on the part of the state. The fund is administered by the labor exchanges, and the benefits given vary with the wages paid.

Similar provision is made in Austria, Russia, Czechoslovakia and Italy, while in Belgium, Denmark, France, Norway and some other European countries benefits given by trade unions are supplemented by state subsidies.

The unemployment insurance bills first introduced in the legislatures of the United States followed in general the British plan, with its tri-partite contributions. This was typical of the Massachusetts bill of 1916 and the bill introduced by the Socialist group in the N. Y. Legislature during and after the war. Later, however, beginning with the Huber bill, introduced in the Wisconsin legislature in 1921, and sponsored by Professor John R. Commons, they

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Socialist Western Invasion Begins

(Continued from Page One)
April 3 or 4; San Diego Open Forum, April 6; Redlands, April 7 and 8; St. Louis, April 10.

"Daniel W. Hoan, Mayor of Milwaukee, will speak in the following places: Chicago, March 15; Amalgamated Clothing Workers; Sioux City, Workmen's Circle, March 16; Des Moines, March 17; Kansas City, probably, March 19 and 20; Denver, City Club, March 21; Sacramento, March 23; San Francisco and Los Angeles; Fresno, probably, April 1; Eugene, Oregon, April 2; Salem, April 3; Portland, three engagements, 4th; Seattle, Washington, State membership conference and Labor College, April 6; Spokane, April 8; Twin cities, April 11 and 12, four engagements.

Maurer and O'Neal Dates

James H. Maurer, veteran labor leader, will travel through: Pittsburgh, March 12 or 13; Chicago, engagements; Duluth, 17; Butte, Mont., 19; Missoula, 20; Seattle Labor College, 23; Portland, three engagements, 24th; San Francisco and Los Angeles; Kansas City, Missouri, Central Labor Union, April 8; Gillespie, Ill., April 9.

James O'Neal, editor of The New Leader, Socialist official organ, will speak: on March 17 in Indianapolis; 18th, Labor Temple, Terre Haute; 19th, Fort Scott, Kansas; 20th, Pittsburg, Kansas; 21st, Ark. City; 23rd, Dallas, Texas; 24th, either Fort Worth, El Paso, or Yuma; Los Angeles, April 3; Ogden, Utah; 4th, Salt Lake City; 6th, Denver; 7th, Goodland, Kansas, and 8th, Norton.

Jasper McLevy, Cheyenne, Wyo., March 23. Returning by way of San Antonio, Houston and Atlanta, speaking at two meetings.

Clarence Senior, executive secretary, will speak under the auspices of the intercollegiate department of the League for Industrial Democracy on a schedule which at present shows twenty-five stops. Many of them will be for the party also.

There are still some open dates on the schedules of the members shown and the other members of the committee are still open for engagements. Locals wanting dates are asked to write the national office immediately.

Rand School Debaters Entertained in Reading; Teams Meet Albright College in Stiff Tiff

A party of ten Socialists, seven of whom are students at the Rand School of Social Science, visited Reading, Pa., last Friday and Saturday and were most comradely received by the officials of the Socialist administration of the City Government. The original purpose of the visit was to debate with a group of students representing Albright College which is located in Reading. The debate, which was very successful, was somewhat overshadowed, however, by the reception accorded the Rand School team. In spite of the rain and sleet members of the Socialist Party and their sympathizers filled the hall of the party headquarters at the Labor Lyceum. The ringing criticism of the capitalist system and his defense of Socialism, by Comrade Julius Umansky was the outstanding speech of the evening. The debate, presented in a new and interesting method, led to an enthusiastic forum of afterwards.

Comrade Walter R. Hollinger, City Controller, devoted Saturday morning to the visiting group. He showed them the new City Hall,

designed and built by Reading's first Socialist administration. Specially noted were the attractive Council Chamber, the modern and humane court and prison system, the new fire alarm system, and the efficient business practices of the government staff. Mayor J. Henry Stump and Councilman James H. Maurer also relaxed from their civic responsibilities for a few minutes to greet the Rand School comrades. Attractive booklets, prepared at the time of the dedication of the City Hall in July, 1929, and containing information about the City Government and its departments were given to each member of the party with some other material prepared by the Reading Local in the course of its political activities.

The debate group was entertained overnight at Albright College and at the home of Comrade Hollinger. Comrade William T. Hade, who is coach of the Rand School debating team, will be glad to receive requests for debates on Socialism and civic problems. Correspondence should be addressed in care of Dr. Bohn, educational director of the Rand School.

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Published Every Week by The New Leader for the Young People's Socialist League

NATIONAL MEMBERSHIP DRIVE

The Eastern Section of the National Executive Committee of the Y. P. S. L. met in Philadelphia and Reading on March 1 and 2 and formulated plans for a national membership drive. The quota set for New York is 1,000 additional members, (seniors and juniors) to be divided as follows: Brooklyn, 400; Manhattan, 250; Bronx, 250, and 100 for Queens and Richmond.

In accordance with this plan, Emanuel Switkes, national chairman, issued a call for a membership drive conference for New York City which was held at the Rand School last Monday evening. A committee of seven, with Abe Belsky, the executive secretary-elect as chairman was chosen to manage the drive in the city. Next Saturday afternoon at 4 p. m. the committee will meet at the Rand School to formulate plans for the city drive which will be held during the month of April.

NATIONAL NOTES

LYNN, Mass.—Lynn Circle is running a series of six discussions on Socialist topics. "The Leisure Class," "Industrial Democracy," "War," "Security of Livelihood," "Socialist Methods," and "The Objectives of Socialism" will be discussed. Lynn Circle meets regularly every second and fourth Thursday at 16 Mount Hood Terrace and they report that they have doubled their membership since the last national convention.

CLEVELAND, O.—Prof. Henry M.

Busch, of the School of Applied Science

of Western Reserve University, is to give a lecture on "Youth" at the last meeting of the circle on March 14.

A Y. P. S. L. chorus has been organized under the direction of Comrade Hockenbrauch of the Central Branch, S. P. and will be available for all Socialist affairs. Rehearsals are held every Thursday evening.

Comrade Raden of the Workmen's Circle will teach a class in economics sponsored by the Y. P. S. L. which will meet every Friday evening beginning March 21 at the Workmen's Center, 3467 East 147th street.

Beginning March 23, the Senior Circle will meet at 2 o'clock Sunday afternoons at the Labor Institute 10511 Pasadena avenue.

NEW YORK NOTES

CIRCLE ONE, MANHATTAN.—At a meeting of the executive committee of the city league, held last Monday night, the Rand School Circle was granted a charter and is now known as Circle One, Manhattan. Last Sunday three additional members joined the circle and the membership is now 21.

Last Sunday, Samuel H. Friedman gave the first of a series of four lectures on Socialism before the members of the Circle. Comrade Friedman spoke on the fundamentals of Socialism and will continue further into the subject this coming Sunday. The meeting takes place at 8 p. m. and all are welcome.

Election of members to the Borough Council and to the Executive Committee will be held this Sunday.

Dr. Alfred Adler, eminent Viennese psychologist will speak before the members and friends of the Circle at the Rand School auditorium on Friday evening, May 9. Tickets are 50c and may be obtained from the Circle at the Rand School.

CIRCLE ONE, BRONX.—At the Circle elections, held last Sunday, Max Gross was chosen organizer; Jack Skurnick, educational director, and Winston Dancis, financial secretary. Jack Skurnick also won the declaration contest with a rendition of Arturo Giovannitti's "The Walker." Emanuel Goldberg and Fanny Sherman took second and third places.

CIRCLE FIVE, BRONX.—Circle 5 Bronx is the only junior circle in the borough and would like to hear from senior and junior Brooklyn circles with a view to intercircle correspondence and exchange of opinion. Communicate with Yetta Riesel, 317 Crimmins avenue, Bronx. The circle meets at 2012 4th Avenue, Friday evenings at 8:30.

CIRCLE TWO, BROOKLYN.—This circle will hold an anniversary dance and entertainment at 219 Sackman street, on April 5. Besides dancing, entertainment and refreshments, there is being kept a dark secret. Tickets may be had from circle members or at the Rand Book Store. The admission is 50 cents.

Banquet to Honor Jacob Panken April 4th, His 50th Birthday

Socialists and progressives of every shade, including the representatives of hundreds of thousands of trade unionists who have benefited from his years of devotion to the Socialist and labor movement, will throw aside their cares on April 4 and join hands in commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of the birth of former Judge Jacob Panken, which they will celebrate that evening at Webster Hall, 11st Street and Third Avenue.

The announcement of the city executive committee of the Socialist party that it will take the lead in paying tribute to Judge Panken met with an enthusiastic response among all groups of the population. Members of the Pocket Book Makers Union, the first he helped on the bench when he was for ten years the only Socialist judge, elected by the workers themselves, lawyers who respect him as a leading member of the bar, the Forward Association, the United Hebrew Trades, the City Committee of the Jewish Socialist Verband, the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America will help make up the record-breaking attendance that is expected at the banquet to be given in Judge Panken's honor.

It is expected that the organizations whose representatives will attend the banquet will speak for a following of almost 400,000 workers in this city.

Norman Thomas is chairman of the arrangements committee, Meyer Gillis is treasurer, and Marx Lewis is secretary. On the committee are the representatives of all the leading organizations, including Benjamin Schlesinger, president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, Sidney Hillman, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, A. I. Shipplack, manager of the Pocket Book Makers Union; Adolph Held, and Abraham Cahane, editor-in-chief of the Jewish Daily Forward.

Reservations, at \$2.50 per plate, can be made by addressing Meyer Gillis, treasurer, 175 E. Broadway, New York.

Special in the areas where the United States Steel and the Westinghouse electric giants dominate. The last year has witnessed a growing climax of tyranny in this "Company town" and the medieval area surrounding it. Within twelve months there has been crammed the agitation of the abolition of the Coal and Iron Police following the shocking murder of miner John Barcoski, the revival of the memories of the Sacco-Vanzetti case through the attempted frame-up of Salvatore Accorsi by State Cossacks and a series of industrial conflicts climaxing in the eight week tax strike.

Due to state elections falling in 1930 chief interest is pointed towards the state convention at which Pennsylvania Socialists will formally select James H. Maurer as their candidate for Governor and state standard bearer. The convention slated for the 29th and 30th of May and the first of June will convene in Socialist Reading, an attempt being made to rally party members from all over the state for a general fighting convention.

Excuse me for taking up so much of your time with this chatter. But everything suggested here is done in the best of good feeling. I think you're the right lad for the right place. I believe Russia will succeed in spite of all obstacles if you keep the helm during the stormy days ahead. But I'd hate to see you go along handicapped by the advice and acts of the greatest society of misfits and political liabilities history has ever known. Try liquidation on the Third International. . . . You have nothing to lose but trouble. . . . You have a world to gain.

S. A. de Witt.

The Chatter Box

RESIDUUM

Only few things are worth remembering;
The way three lovely poplars framed a hill
Gathering the dusk, a pale November night
Stripped of all surface splendors, bare and free,
The sudden scarlet flash of a bird's wing.
The damp feel of earth soaked with spring.
So few the things that are worth remembering.
Flesh touching smooth flesh burns through apal
hours
That lose their lustre. Time, the tarnisher,
Spares neither youth nor fire nor age nor bliss.
Yet recklessly inviolate remains
The kiss of beauty with its sharp sweet sting.
DORIS KIRKPATRICK

The Orient Comes in Drama to Broadway

The Stage

The Movies

Music

THE WEEK ON THE STAGE

By Joseph T. Shipley

MEI LAN-FANG

CHINESE DRAMA at the National Theatre.

THE Chinese Theatre carries us into another civilization. So remote are the conditions underlying its convention, so broad a leap of understanding do they demand, of power to put oneself in another's place, that if the response of the American audience to Mei Lan-Fang be genuine, we are nearer than I imagine to the international harmony and peace.

The Chinese art of the theatre, like many things Chinese, is cloaked with tradition of the centuries. While these—except of course in the few "new" theatres that copy western models—prevent changes in the general form and themes of the drama, they encourage and make possible a perfection of technique rarely otherwise achieved. It is evident, indeed, both from the attitude of the Chinese in the audience and from the presentation itself, that Mei Lan-Fang is a flower of the ages.

The theatrical art of the Chinese, as presented in the work of the present company, comes closer to our opera (though still far away) than to any other western form. There is a constant orchestra—of sounds unlike any our musicians emit—which emphasizes the moods and moments of the drama, sometimes seriously, sometimes with as broad a humor as our vaudeville orchestra thumping when the comedian falls. There is singing, for at one emotional moment the voice breaks from conversation into song. There is dancing; in truth the movements are all so admirably cadenced, so rhythmically held and balanced, that the entire play is in one deep sense a dance.

The stories are drawn exclusively from Chinese history and legend. A few of these (though apparently in greatly condensed versions) Mei Lan-Fang gives entire: the little tragedy of "The Suspected Slipper," where the returned hero unknowingly kills his son; and the story of the fisherman and his daughter (Mei Lan-Fang plays the feminine roles) who kill their cruel overlord. The remainder of the program consists of dances or scenes of combat from long plays, showing the highly conventionalized, exquisite delicacy or lengthily deliberate farce of the Chinese drama. It is as though the fragile beauty of old vases came to life. In the land of the cherry blossom and the pea orchard, indeed, eulogies have been addressed to the various respects of Mei Lan-Fang's person and personality, as displayed in his acting. His eyes, his ears, the movements of his neck, of his shoulders, of his waist, are all described and analyzed, and new modulation doubtless watched for as eagerly as a changed emphasis at the Theatre Francaise. The whole performance has the quiet grace of self-conscious beauty, of beauty that needs no flaunting, being sure.

TSUTSUI OF KYOTO

JAPANESE PLAYERS at the Booth Theatre.

The Japanese Company at the Booth presents quite another aspect of the Orient than we see through Mei Lan-Fang; as true, no doubt, in its way, and interesting, yet wholly different. For while the Chinese player has brought us the classical drama of his land, the troupe from Kyoto is revolutionary, it has done new dramas in the new way, and for its American presentations has had its work supervised by Michio, long known to the American public.

The plays Tsutsui is presenting are fairly easy to follow, even without the printed synopsis as guide. For the scenery is realistic, and the plots as well. This enables us to see that the imitation of the west keeps a few stages behind our own development; for the scenery is to us old fashioned, and the plots are trite. The interest these plays have for us lies, artistically, rather in their difference from us than in their resemblance.

Socially, their interest is of another sort. We can gather, from these presentations, some confirmation of our ideas of the Orient. The Japanese, less sure of their traditions, more eager to match the "smarter" if not wiser western world, the go-getters of the east, offer us a stale version of occidental realism. The more patrician Chinese, proud—as they may be—of the best elements of their ancient civilization, the oldest persisting unit, are more reluctant to cast this aside for the spacious advantages of an ephemeral present, hold to their classic theatre.

It is of interest to note that the Chinese program offers the story of an honest fisherman killing an unjust lord, and the Japanese selections include, in "The Shadow Man," an even more elaborate account of the common people's rising against the cruelty of those in power. As both plays are based on old stories, it is clear that the fundamental problems of labor have been much the same in the Orient.

Author of Broadway's Newest Mystery Play



Bernard J. McOwen is the co-author of the "Blue Ghost," a new mystery play which opened at the Forrest theatre last week.

as elsewhere in the capital-controlled world. And when the patient east turns...

OUR BABYLON

"THE GREEN PASTURES," By Marc Connelly, Mansfield Theatre.

"What did God look like when he walked the earth?" One pickaninny asks the question at Sunday school. His teacher doesn't just rightly know, but remembers that when he was a boy he always pictured God in the likeness of the Reverend Mr. Du Bois. This orthodox source of his features makes it a simple matter, for the rest of the play, to have God walk all over man's earth.

God doesn't think much of man's earth, and He has cause. For Adam and Noah and the rest of the old Biblical figures come through the naive imagination of the negro (as imagined by Marc Connelly) with the characteristics of persons in the world today; the sinners of Sodom tote their guns, the night clubs of Babylon might be speakeasies; the whole blight in mess, in other words, reminds us that if God were as interested in this planet as He was when He wrote the Bible, He'd volunteer to send another flood.

The fish fry in Paradise which follows the Sunday school prelude introduces us to black heaven. I wondered for a while why the crooning sentimentality of this play should succeed while the wisecracking of "Joseph" seemed to many irrelevant; then, it grew clear that the explanation lay in the fact the audience does not consider the black god their god, any more than a yellow or a red deity could supervise a white man—therefore there is no sacrifice. But the success of the play is intimately bound with the production, for the choruses that swell and surge with appropriate spirituals between the many scenes, and the rhythmic or rowdy stir of the mass of players, alone could carry over the idea of a directing, omnipotent God. The thought that the best thing to do with the earth is to wipe out the human race needs less sugar-coating.

TOWN HALL

THURSDAY EVENING, March 20 at 8:30

BORIS LEVENSON and CHARLES MADURO

Admitted by Members of THE MANHATTAN SYMPHONY TICKETS AT BOX OFFICE

Mgt. Richard Copley (Steinway Piano)

CARNEGIE HALL

WEDNESDAY EVENING, March 19 at 8:30

MAUD VON STEUBEN SOPRANO

TICKETS AT BOX OFFICE

Mgt. Richard Copley (Steinway Piano)

CARNEGIE HALL

Saturday Afternoon, March 22, at 3

Levitzi

POPULAR PROGRAM

Concert Mgt. DAN'L MAYER

Steinway Piano

CARNEGIE HALL

SATURDAY AFTERNOON, MARCH 15

JOSEF HOFMANN

Pianist

Tickets at Box Office

Mgt. Richard Copley (Steinway Piano)

Kennedy Freeman

Pianoforte Instruction and Coaching

Recommended highly by Isidor Philipp, Professor at the Paris Conservatoire

160 WEST 73rd St. Trafalgar 6700

Carola Goya to Dance At Carnegie Hall

Carola Goya announces a gala season's farewell recital of Spanish dances at Carnegie Hall for Friday evening, April 4th, on which occasion she again will have the assistance of Beatrice Weller, harpist, and Iturbe Ortiz, pianist. Miss Goya had expected to reappear in two Sunday evening recitals at Hampden's Theatre during March, but because of the uncertainty of official action on Sabbath dance performances, she finally decided upon a single week day appearance in the much larger Carnegie Hall instead.

In this recital Miss Goya intends giving the most comprehensive survey of the Spanish dance field she ever has made in a single performance. No less than eighteen of her thirty Spanish dances will be on the program and they will illustrate the traditional dances of nearly every province in Spain, besides revealing her own interpretation of dance music by modern Iberian composers.

"Sergt. Grischka" at Globe

Scores of screen tests were made and weeks of time were consumed before Herbert Brenon discovered the ideal player for the title part in Radio Pictures' "The Case of Sergeant Grischka," which opened at the Globe theatre Friday.

In conducting his search Brenon was confronted with the problem of finding a young actor capable of throwing off all traces of modern life and sophistication. It was necessary for him to have the ability to display the privations, sufferings and heartaches of one who, puppet-like, served as a cog in the great military machine of the World War. Grischka, as described in Arnold Zweig's best-selling novel, is a Russian peasant, a simple, honest creature whose spirit is filled with bitterness, then resignation, under the oppression of the war.

When Brenon made a voice and screen test of Chester Morris, the young artist of "Alibi" fame, he knew he had found Grischka. Betty Compson plays the feminine lead opposite Morris. Featured roles are enacted by Jean Hersholt, Alec B. Francis, Gustav von Seyffertitz, Leyland Hodgson and Paul McAllister.

Radical Plays Wanted

The New Leader has received many requests from time to time, for names of plays with a social slant, one-act or full-length studies of social and economic problems, that can be put on without too great difficulty by local groups.

The New Leader will be glad to hear of any performances given, to make note of these, and to learn of plays that can be added to its list, so as to offer a wider choice to other groups. Send a note of forthcoming productions, or a description of one you've had, to Joseph T. Shipley. In a coming number, The New Leader will publish a list of plays recommended for production by local groups.

National Theatre

Houston Street & 2nd Ave. Tel. ORCHARD 2612

BERTHA KALICH in

"The Soul of a Woman"

A New Sensational Drama by Harry Kalmanowitz

Fri. eve. Sat. & Sun. Mat. and Eve. with JACOB JACOBS, WILLIAM SCHWARTZ and an ALL-STAR Cast

THE THEATRE GUILD PRESENTS

Opening Tomorrow Evening, at 8:30

A MONTH IN THE

COUNTRY

By IVAN TURGENEV

GUILD THEATRE

52nd STREET WEST OF BROADWAY

Eves. 8:30—Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2:40

THE THEATRE GUILD Presents

The Apple Cart

Bernard Shaw's Political Extravaganza

Martin Beck

THEA. 40th St. W. of 8th Ave.

Eves. 8:30 Mats. Thurs. & Sat. at 2:30

Philharmonic Symphony

TOSCANINI, Conductor

METROPOLITAN OPERA HOUSE

SUNDAY AFTERNOON, March 16, at 3:00

ROSSINI... MOZART

RESPIGHI... DUKAS... WAGNER

CARNEGIE HALL

Thursday Evening, March 28, at 8:45

In New Play



Spring Byington and a well known cast come to Broadway next week in a new play by B. M. Kaye, called "I Want My Wife." Murray Phillips is the producer.

55th St. Continues German Film

The first German-made 100% talking and singing picture, "Dich Hab Ich Geliebt" (Because I Loved You) has done so well over the second week end of its popular price run at the 55th Street Playhouse, that it will be held over for another week. It is an Afa-Tobis production and features Mady Christians, Walter Jankuhn and Hans Stuwe.

This first German-made audible production has proved to be highly successful in German and other European countries where it played in competition with the latest American talking films. The foreign rights have been sold as far as to Japan. Its financial success meant an immediate boon for further production of audible films in Germany where the public has been rather sceptical towards them until a few months ago. The same program includes "Oberammergau," a short film of the "Passion Play" village, and the Laurel and Hardy comedy, "Berth Marks."

Conrad Veidt's first talking film "Bride No. 68," is to have its first American showing at the 55th Street Playhouse beginning Saturday, March 22nd. It was produced by Tobis in Germany.

Patronize New Leader Advertisers—And Tell Them Why You Do It

JOHN GOLDEN Theatre, W. 54th St.

SUNDAY EVENING, MARCH 30

Eva Le Gallienne

Presents

BELLE DIDJAH

In Dance Recital.

Only N. Y. Appearance This Year

PRICES: \$3, \$2.50, \$1.50

At Box Office or By Mail

ARTHUR HOPKINS Presents

REBOUND

A New Comedy

by DONALD OGDEN STEWART

with

HOPE WILLIAMS

PLYMOUTH Thea., 45th St.

Eves. 8:50, Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2:40

CIVIC REPERTORY

14th St., 8th Ave. Eves. 8:30

Mon. Eve. "The Open Door" (Sutro)

Tues. Eve. "The Women Have Their Way" (Quinteto)

Wed. Eve. "The Living Corpse" (Tolstol)

Thurs. Mat. "The Seal Gull" (Tchekov)

Thurs. Eve. "The Open Door" (Sutro)

Fri. Eve. "The Women Have Their Way" (Quinteto)

Sat. Mat. "Peter Pan" (Barrie)

Sat. Eve. "The Locandiere" (Goldoni)

Seats 4 Wks. Adv. Box Off. & Town Hall, 113 W. 43rd St.

55TH STREET PLAYHOUSE

Just East of 7th Ave.

3rd Week

Anastasia Rabinoff's First New York Recital

Anastasia Rabinoff, who prior to her sailing for Europe three years ago, was hailed in Chicago and other western cities as a new star in the operatic firmament, just returned to America and is making her first New York appearance in a program of songs and Arias in seven languages at the Guild Theatre, Sunday afternoon March 23rd at 3 o'clock.

The "brilliant young prima donna," as she was called by music critics of national reputation, achieved more in not quite five years than many of our greatest artists do in twice that time. Her notable appearances with the San Carlo and Cincinnati Opera Companies, as Santuzza in "Cavalleria Rusticana," just before she sailed for Europe, created nothing short of a sensation. She did the opera after only two years of study. The press and public alike, lavished the most flattering plaudits on her. It was then that she was hailed by the press as "another star in the operatic firmament."

The announcement of her New York recital was greeted by her friends and admirers with much enthusiasm.

THE BLUE GHOST

"Eerie, ghostly, uncanny things happened so fast and furiously that the weak gasped, the strong gulped and even the blasé blinked."—Eve. World.

FORREST THEATRE

49th St. West of Broadway

Evenings 8:50, Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30

RUTH DRAPER

in her ORIGINAL CHARACTER SKETCHES

Evening: Tuesday, Wednesday, Friday and Sunday, 8:50

Management Actor-Managers, Inc.

Comedy Theatre, 41st St., E. of B'way

Mats. Thurs. & Sat. Very good seats \$1

Evenings 8:50; Matinees 2:30

"THE LAST MILE"

is the most exciting production in the New York Theatre today.

—John Mason Brown, Eve. Post.

Sam H. Harris Thea.

42nd St. West of Broadway

Eves. 8:50, Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30

The Season's Outstanding Triumph

Katharine Cornell

in DISHONORED LADY

"I've waited all this year for a stretch of acting as immediately glamorous and subtly colored and alive."

—Gilbert W. Gabriel, New York American.

EMPIRE THEATRE, B'way & 40th St.

Evenings at 8:45

MATS. WED. & SAT. 2:30

GILBERT MILLER by arrangement with MAURICE BROWN presents

Journey's End

By R. C. SHERRIFF

HENRY MILLER'S THEATRE

124 West 43rd Street

Evenings at 8:30

Matinees Thursday and Saturday 2:30

GILBERT MILLER'S and LESLIE HOWARD'S production of

Berkeley Square

By JOHN L. BALDERSTON

with

LESLIE HOWARD and MARGALO GILLMORE

THEATRE, West 45th Street

Eves. 8:30, Mats. Thurs. & Sat.

THE ONLY REAL MYSTERY THRILLER

SUBWAY EXPRESS

"Should Run as Long as the Subway Itself."—Eve. Post.

REPUBLIC THEATRE

42nd STREET & BROADWAY

MATINEES WEDNESDAY & SATURDAY

EVENINGS AT 8:30 P.M.

A New Personality Now Under Cork

In the older days of minstrelsy, blackface comedians were in such abundance that they almost overcrowded our stages. Going back, however, the last ten years or more and considering the fact that outlets for stage talents have increased two fold by a hundred fold, it is interesting to note how few great personalities, who do their own work under cork, have held, or are holding, public attention.

Eliminating Eddie Cantor, Al Jolson, Eddie Leonard and Moran and Mack, whose standing in the world of the theatre needs no commenting on, what other big names are there?

This brings us to a new blackface personality about whom we are going to make prophecies. Pardon us, as we gaze into the crystal—we see Nate Busby, blackface comedian, who is currently making a great hit as Jasper, the butler, in Jimmie Cooper's hair raiser "The Blue Ghost," and relieving the tenseness of this mello-drama with his comic antics, a box-office attraction destined to take his place with those great figures of minstrelsy of the past.

"Son of the Gods" at Strand

Playing its first engagement at popular prices, "Son of the Gods," starring Richard Barthelmess and featuring lovely Constance Bennett comes into the New York Strand Theatre Friday, (March 14th). The picture recently had a \$2 run at the Warner Theatre.

"Son of the Gods" is a First National and Vitaphone production, partly in Technicolor. It was adapted to the screen from the novel by Rex Beach and was directed by Frank Lloyd.

"Gen. Crack" Held at Beacon

Having shattered records set early in the season by "Gold Diggers of Broadway," "General Crack" starring John Barrymore in his first all-talking picture, is being held over at Warner Bros. Beacon Theatre, Broadway and 74th street. The second week of its run starts Friday (March 14). Featured in the cast with Barrymore are Lowell Sherman, Armida, Marion Nixon, Hobart Bosworth and Jacqueline Logan.

Greta Garbo Talks in "Anna Christie" at Capitol

At the Capitol Greta Garbo is appearing in her first talkie, a film version of the famous O'Neill play. The transfer of her talents to the talkies leaves Charlie Chaplin almost alone of the great stars of the silent film who have not gone talkie.

"BIGGEST LAUGH IN YEARS."

—Dornton, Eve. World.

SAM H. HARRIS presents

JUNE MOON

By RING LARDNER and GEORGE S. KAUFMAN

Broadhurst

WEST 44TH ST.

Evenings at 8:40

Mats. Wed. & Sat.

"THE LAST MILE"

is the most exciting production in the New York Theatre today.

—John Mason Brown, Eve. Post.

Sam H. Harris Thea.

42nd St. West of Broadway

Eves. 8:50, Mats. Wed. & Sat. 2:30

The Season's Outstanding Triumph

Katharine Cornell

in DISHONORED LADY

Hippodrome Baffles With "The Street of Chance"

In Sops O' Guns

Pretty Mary Horan who adds beauty and grace to Sons O' Guns, which is still standing them up at the Imperial theatre.

Roxy Rolls On

Anniversary week at the Roxy theatre is stretched to two. On the screen Elinor Glyn's first talkie, "Such Men Are Dangerous," shows Warner Baxter as a man whose character changes completely with his face. (Plastic surgery does great things!) Catherine Dale Owen, who needs none such, has the feminine lead.

The feature of the stage program is an Anniversary Party, a huge banquet of entertainment, with Frank Moulton, Patricia Bowman, and Viola Philo as chief fare. "Doux Jasmin," a perfume created for the occasion, inaugurates Roxy's new trick of spraying the theatre with a different perfume each week; and it is rumored that women visiting Roxy's during anniversary week carry home a free bottle.

William Powell in His First Star Role

"Street of Chance"

"Street of Chance," starring William Powell, moves from Broadway to Sixth Avenue this Saturday, when the talking screen's version of New York's most sensation underworld secret is revealed at the RKO Hippodrome. In this picture of the Great White Way, without a chorus girl, without a jazz band, Mr. Powell gives one of the greatest performances of his career and is ably assisted by Jean Arthur, Kay Francis and Regis Toomey.

Florence Richardson and her musical boy friends arrive back from a coast to coast tour to head the vaudeville half of the show. Other important features on the bill are Boyle and Della, in songs and fun; Frank Hurst and Eddie Vogt, real comics in a skit by Eugene Connel; Alice and "Sonny" Lamont, assisted by mother and dad; the Two Blossoms, petite singing blonde youngsters; and the Bellaire Brothers, internationally famed athletes.

King Continues as "King"

"The Vagabond King," Paramount's thrilling action romance in which Dennis King brings to the audible screen the role of Francois Villon, in which he arose to the heights of stardom on the stage, is in its fourth week at the Criterion Theatre.

King, at the head of his non-descript army of vagabonds, singing the "Song of the Vagabonds," is once more winning the approbation of metropolitan audiences much as he did when "The Vagabond King," as a stage operetta, became a vague a few seasons back. In Paramount's all-technicolor audible screen production, the picturization of Justin Huntly McCarthy's romantic novel assumes a greater sweep than would ever have been possible upon the stage.

Gives Fine Performance

"Last Mile" in Talkie

Spencer Tracy and Howard Phillips, now performing in Herman Shumlin's production of "The Last Mile" at the Sam H. Harris Theatre, have just completed a two-reel talking picture in the New York studios of Warner Brothers. It is by Frederic and Fanny Hatton and is called, "Taxi Talks." Others in the cast are Katherine Alexander, Roger Pryor, Mayo Method and Evelyn Knapp. Arthur Hurley directed.

In "The Last Mile" Spencer Tracy plays the role of John "Killer" Mears and Howard Phillips plays Freddie Mayor, the boy who is suddenly released from an impending electrocution.

New Plans For Civic Rep. Tour

"Cohens and Kellys"

The Civic Repertory Theatre will inaugurate a novel plan this season in connection with its annual spring tour, according to an announcement last night by its founder and director, Eva Le Gallienne. In previous seasons, the policy has been to follow the conclusion of the season on the home stage with a more or less extensive tour to other cities, after which the company has been released for vacation through the summer months. This year, on the contrary, the tour will be limited to a single city, Philadelphia, and on the conclusion of the Philadelphia engagement the Civic Repertory Company will return to its home in Fourteenth Street to round out its fourth season on its own stage.

The Philadelphia engagement will take place before Easter beginning Monday, April 7, and continuing through Saturday evening, April 19. The company will return from Philadelphia in time to open the thirtieth week of its New York season on Monday, April 21. It is Miss Le Gallienne's intention to keep her theatre open through the month of May.

Colony Keeps "Cohens and Kellys"

Universal's all-talking comedy, "The Cohens and Kellys in Scotland," proves to be a favorite at the Colony and will be held over another week.

This fourth episode concerning the Cohens and Kellys was written by John McDermott and adapted for the screen by Albert Demond.

The featured players in "The Cohens and Kellys" are George Sidney, Charlie Murray, Vera Gordon and Kate Price. In the supporting cast are E. J. Ratcliffe, William Colvin and Lloyd Whitlock. The picture was directed by William James Craft, with C. Allen Jones at the camera.

Do Your Friends Read The New Leader? We Will Send Them Sample Copies

To Appear at Guild Theatre

"Last Mile" in Talkie

Anastasia Rabinoff, Prima Donna Soprano, who has recently returned from Europe, and will sing a program of songs and airs at the Guild theatre on Sunday afternoon, March 23.

Women's Section Takes "Topaze" For Theatre Party Thurs. April 17th

All branches and sections and individuals of the N. Y. Socialist Party are urgently requested by the Women's Section not to make any arrangements or engagements for April 17th as they have taken the Music Box Theatre that night for "Topaze."

"Topaze" is a brilliant satire and very entertaining and has settled down into one of the solid hits of the season which all will be delighted to see and this affair will be one of the most festive party functions of the season. Tickets are available thru Mrs. Panken at the Rand School.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY AT WORK

FOR ALL INFORMATION regarding Socialist literature, organization and lectures address the National Executive Secretary, Clarence O. Senior, 2653 Washington Boulevard, Chicago, Ill.

National

THE PARTY AGENDA

All party members are urged to write to the national office or to talk with members of the N. E. C. on their stops for speaking engagements about the matters on the agenda of the Los Angeles meeting. With the increase in activity and membership it is more necessary than for years to have the party members in touch with the national office.

The agenda, tentatively includes discussion of these topics: Congress, campaign, national aid to state campaigns, removal of national office to Washington, D. C., time and place for national committee meetings, international relations, trade union relations, meeting of Socialist trade unionists in connection with A. F. of L. convention in Boston, and new literature. The executive secretary will welcome suggestions for other topics that need to be dealt with.

The Marxian Federation which last fall joined as an associate body has now decided to join the Bohemian Federation en masse as active members. The Federation in Chicago will reorganize by city wards and the national committee will make a special study of the Federation. The Chicago branch of the Federation is taking an active part in the celebration of the birthday of President Masaryk of Czechoslovakia, the son of a working man, who is a scientist and a thinker who spent ten years of his life in studying Karl Marx and his works and wrote a widely accepted scientific book on the economics of Marx. Masaryk is a friend of Karl Kautsky, Ramsay MacDonald, Victor Adler, Emil Vandervelde, and other well known Socialists.

Florida

State Secretary Edison sends out a letter to members, former members and sympathizers of the party in Florida, as the beginning of Florida's part in the national drive for 30,000 new members. The letter reviews the present stand of the socialist party on various public matters and stresses the gains that have been made in organizational activity in the past year.

Wisconsin

MILWAUKEE has formed a committee to feed the unemployed. Mayor Hoan placed his secretary in charge of the work and hired one of the best chefs in the city to cook the meals. Arrangements have also been made to house those who are homeless.

Thursday, a riot was started because one member of the committee of the unemployed started to defend the action of the city and give credit to Mayor Hoan for starting it.

Michigan

The result of Comrade Thomas radio address is starting to show up. The first was a subscription for The New Leader which was started by the radio and I hope that we will have more subscriptions.

Branch 1 will have its next meeting Thursday evening, March 20, in Gerrow's Hall C, 333 Grand River Avenue. All interested in our movement are urged to attend.

Connecticut

HAMDEN

Local Hamden will meet Friday evening, March 14, at the home John Lindquist, 57 Tremont street, Whiteville, Hamden. Unemployment will be discussed and plans made to distribute literature dealing on the subject. The proposed change of the town government to a commission or city government will also be discussed.

NEW HAVEN

Martin F. Plunkett, former State secretary, will discuss the prospects

New York State

PORT CHERSTER

State Secretary Merrill announces that the Port Chester Branch of the Finnish Federation has purchased its whole quota of 1800 State Convention stamps. Port Chester has the largest Finnish branch in the state outside New York City.

SCHENECTADY

The Schenectady Labor Forum will have its third session this Saturday evening with Dr. Harry W. Laidler as speaker, and Prof. Coleman B. Cheney of Skidmore College, Saratoga, presiding. Dr. Laidler will discuss "Industrial Democracy." The Labor Forum is run under the auspices of the central labor body of Schenectady, the Trades Assembly.

New York City

CITY CONVENTION

The annual spring convention of Local New York City will be held Saturday and Sunday, April 26th and 27th. A call will be sent to the branches to elect delegates. The committee on Agenda, Julius Garber, A. N. Weinberg, Branch and acting secretary, and Harry Kritzer, is preparing the order of business.

City Executive Committee meeting on Wednesday, March 19, at 8:00 p. m. The City Executive Committee will meet in the City Hall, 7 East 15th street.

Elizabeth Stuyvesant

Among the many interesting people who have joined the party is Elizabeth Stuyvesant, member of our Sunnyside Branch and acting secretary of the Women's Section. She is a librarian by profession and a remarkable student of literature. At a meeting of the Women's Section she gave a short talk and reading of British literature. Last Sunday evening at the 18th Congressional District, she gave a thrilling talk and reading of Negro poetry. She is willing to accommodate branches who desire talks in literature, drama, etc., can be made with Organizer Claessens at the city office.

Upper West Side

Another successful meeting was held Tuesday evening in the Temple Grand Community Center. Eleven applications for membership were received. Thanks to the splendid teaming of Len Gindoff and Helia Wilson, Philo and Kuhnle, the branch is steadily growing. The enrolled Socialist voters are being canvassed. August Claessens was the speaker. Another meeting will be held on March 25. Enrolled Socialist voters will be invited. Dr. William E. Bohn will be the speaker.

YORKVILLE

In the special election Tuesday in the 18th Congressional District, the Socialist candidate, August Claessens, received 214 votes. The district is overwhelmingly Democratic. Usually very few people take the trouble to vote in a special election, especially for candidates whose chances are very poor. What is most inspiring is that a large number of people have responded to the request to send in their names and addresses to the Socialist Party. Response to the mailing of some 8,000 pieces of literature is very gratifying. Yorkville branches will arrange a public meeting and invite these new friends. As well as the enrolled Socialist voters to the meeting in the Yorkville headquarters.

East Harlem

The Sunday evening forum continues successful. The program includes the following speakers and topics: March 22, Bela Low, "The Fundamentals of Socialism"; March 23, William Karlin, "Socialists at Work"; March 24, Helen Alfred, "Housing Program".

All readers of The Leader in Hudson County are urged to attend these meetings with as many friends as they can induce to come along.

Morningside Heights

Our last meeting was on February 27. Forty or more were present and William Karlin spoke on "Socialists at Work." The meeting was held at the 13th A. D. branch and was a success. A mass meeting of the latter part of March will be asked to join. We intend to canvass the district and mail them announcements. An educational committee was selected under the chairmanship of Donald Henderson. It will investigate various methods of Socialist education that could be used. Literature is to be put on sale every Sunday at the branch. A speakers committee will arrange for available speakers. Our membership is now 107 with four new applicants. Our goal is 200 by June 1. So far we have devoted most of our energies to gaining new members.

Brooklyn

Monday evening, March 17, Frank Crosswain will speak on "Changing Times." Lectures will continue every Monday at 8 p. m. at the headquarters, 482 Surter Avenue.

Brooklyn Heights

On the calendar of events of the two branches that meet in the Boro Park Labor Lyceum, 42nd street and 14th Avenue, the following affairs: Thursday evening, March 20, Isidore Phillips will speak on "Humorous and Tragic Experiences in the Early History of the Socialist Party." Sunday evening, March 23, a membership drive meeting in cooperation with the Jewish Social Club. Prominent speakers have been invited to discuss the unemployment situation.

16th A. D. Branch No. 1

A social gathering and luncheon tendered to William M. Feigenbaum has been arranged for Saturday, March 22, at 9:00 p. m. August Claessens and J. A. DeWitt are expected as guest speakers. The affair will be held at 7316 20th Avenue. Tickets are only \$1.00.

16th A. D. Branch No. 2

At the last meeting March 10, the accomplishments of three months were briefly summarized. They consisted of a lecture by Comrade Feigenbaum on "Old Age Security" by the local Committee House and the local branch, obtaining a meeting room in a local high school, and the local branch, obtaining a meeting room in a local high school, and the local branch, obtaining a meeting room in a local high school.

4th A. D.

A meeting on Tuesday evening, March 18, at headquarters, 1167 Boston road.

3-5th A. D.

A meeting will be held Thursday evening, March 20, in the Hollywood Gardens, 896 Prospect avenue. A prominent speaker will discuss some current topics.

Amalgamated Co-Operative

The next meeting will be held Monday evening, March 17. A prominent speaker will discuss some interesting topic.

2nd A. D.

A meeting Tuesday evening was fairly attended. Dr. Anna Ingberman gave a very interesting talk on "Materialistic Conception of History." The next meeting will be held March 25. Preparations are being made for a mass meeting at large on August Claessens as speaker on unemployment for Tuesday evening, April 8. The Sunday evening forum has been discontinued.

8th A. D.

On Thursday evening, March 20, Louis Waldman will speak on State Unemployment. He will discuss the various causes of unemployment and the part of the working class in the solution of the problem. He will also discuss the part of the working class in the solution of the problem.

6th A. D.

The first social gathering for the new branch will be held Saturday evening, March 22, at the headquarters of the Verband Co-operative houses, Matthews avenue and Williamsbridge road. An excellent musical program has been arranged, consisting of the following: Slayton Sisters in piano and voice; Harry Weiner and his orchestra; Louis Waldman, pianist; and a vocal quartet consisting of S. Beck, violinist. There will be short addresses delivered by Rachel Panken and August Claessens. Of course, refreshments. There is an admission charge.

Branch meeting will be held Friday evening, March 14, in the room at 808 Adey avenue. Final arrangements will be made for the entertainment of the evening.

BROOKLYN

The first meeting of the New County Committee and the Committee of County Organizers will be held Sunday, March 23, at 2:30 p. m., at 167 Tompkins avenue.

1-3-5th A. D.

A meeting has been arranged for Friday evening, March 21. Louis Waldman will speak on a topic of current interest. The enrolled Socialist voters will be invited to hear him in the meeting place, 122 Pierpont street.

2nd A. D.

The package party and social evening arranged in cooperation with the Y. P. S. L. has been postponed to Saturday, March 22, as the 17th is being made to achieve success. The affair will be held in the new headquarters, 482 Surter Avenue.

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ACTORS' UNION

Office 31 Seventh St. N. Y. Phone Orchard 1923

BONNAZ EMBROIDERERS UNION

Local 66, 10 E. W. 7 E. 15th St. Algonquin 3667-8. Executive Board meets every Tuesday Night in the Office of the Union, 10 E. W. 7 E. 15th St. Leon Hirsch, Manager; Nathan Reisel, Secretary-Treasurer.

BRICKLAYERS' UNION

LOCAL NO. 9. Office and headquarters, Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 949 Willoughby Ave. Phone Stage 4621. Open daily except Saturday from 9 A. M. to 5 P. M. Regular meetings every Tuesday evening. Charles Pfau, Fin. Sec'y; Frank P. Lutz, Treasurer; Andrew Streit, Bus. Agent; William Weingert, President; Charles Weber, Vice-President; Samuel Potter, Rec. Sec'y.

BUTCHERS' UNION

Local 134, A. M. C. & B. W. of N. Y. A. Office and Headquarters: Labor Temple, 243 E. 84th St. Room 11. Regular meetings every Tuesday and Sunday at 10 a. m. Employment Bureau open every day at 6 p. m.

BUTCHERS' UNION

Local 234 A.M.O. & B.W. of N. Y. 175 E. 84th St. Orchard 7166. Meet every 1st and 3rd Tuesday. SAMUEL SUSSMAN J. BELSKY ISIDORE LIFF Business Agents

N. Y. JOINT COUNCIL

CAPMAKERS

Cloth Hat, Cap and Millinery Workers International Union. Office, 133 Second Ave.; Phone Orchard 9860-1-2. The Council meets every 1st and 3rd Wednesday. S. Hershkowitz, Sec'y-Treas. Officers: Local 1. Regular meetings every 1st and 3rd Saturday. Executive Board meets every Monday. All meetings are held at 133 Second Avenue, N. Y. C.

CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA

Amalgamated Bank Bldg., 11-15 Union Square, 3rd floor. Telephones Algonquin 6500-1-2-3-4-5. Sydney Hillman, Gen. President; Joseph Schlossberg, Gen. Sec'y-Treas.

THE INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION

3 West 16th Street, New York City. Telephone Chelsea 2148. Benjamin Schlesinger, President. David Dubinsky, Secretary-Treasurer.

THE AMALGAMATED LADIES' GARMENT CUTTERS' UNION

Local No. 10, I. L. O. W. U. Office, 109 W. 39th St. Telephone Wis. 8011. Executive Board meets every Thursday at the office of the Union. Maurice J. Jacobs, President; Samuel Peckman, Manager-Sec'y; Max Strull, chairman of Exec. Board; David Frohling, Asst. Manager.

QUEENS COUNTY

Sunnyside Branch has decided to hold a mass meeting on unemployment on April 8. Louis Waldman will be the speaker. A sub-committee of Y. P. S. L. will cooperate in distributing circulars and putting up posters to advertise the meeting.

Flushing

Goods news! A new branch is

NEW LEADER

A Weekly Newspaper Devoted to the Interests of the Socialist and Labor Movement.
Editor James Oneal
Assistant Editor Edw. Levinson

Contributing Editors:
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Abraham Cahan, Al-
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The New Leader, an official publication of the Socialist Party supports the struggles of the organized working class. Signed contributions do not necessarily represent the policy of the New Leader. On the other hand it welcomes a variety of opinion consistent with its declared purpose. Contributors are requested not to write on both sides of the paper and not to use lead pencil or red ink. Manuscripts that cannot be used will not be returned unless return postage is enclosed.

100 SATURDAY, MARCH 15, 1930

Whalen Should Resign

HAVING by his own admissions induced his agents in the Communist Party to initiate provocative acts at the Union Square demonstration, Commissioner Whalen follows up his lawless acts by making his department a private agency for employing corporations. Public funds that are appropriated for the maintenance of a city department are diverted to maintaining an espionage service for these corporations and to promote a system of blacklisting workmen in the employ of these corporations.

But even this does not reach the limit of Whalen's offending. It is proposed that the list of suspects shall be used for the purpose of deporting those who are not citizens. This brings a protest from eighteen Columbia professors of law who certainly are not Communists. They declare that this is a violation of civil liberties and that on the same principle "Jews, Catholics, atheists, Republicans, Presbyterians, militarists, pacifists and labor unionists might under the stress of temporary excitement be similarly proscribed." Professor Cattell supplements this protest by pointing out that Whalen is violating Section 19 of the Federal Penal code which provides a fine of \$5,000 and imprisonment for not more than ten years for such actions as Whalen sponsors.

This pompous police head either does not know the law or considers himself immune from it. In either case he has revealed his utter unfitness as an official should be compelled to hand in his resignation. He is a dangerous and irresponsible man and no more fit to serve in public office than a fourteen-year old child. It is not the first time that he has run amuck and followed a lawless policy that threatens the elementary civil rights of every citizen of New York City.

We are not Communists. We have opposed their methods and their ideas since their organization eleven years ago. We have done more than all the witless Whalens in this country to combat what Communism represents. And yet we submit that however absurd political and economic views may appear to us and to others it is not a crime to publicly urge those views. On the contrary, it is the duty of public officials to protect all groups in their right to be heard. If individuals violate the law while proclaiming their views it is their actions, not their opinions, that become a matter for action by the authorities.

Whalen is pursuing ideas, not illegal actions. Even the violence on Union Square was in part incited by Whalen's own agents who were acting under his instructions. On the score of those instructions, his use of his department as a private agency for employing corporations, and promoting a private blacklist he is guilty of more infractions of the law than all the Communists whom he now holds in jails.

Moreover, the Communists are not the only persons who are imperiled by Whalen's conduct. There is not a person or organization outside the range of Tammany politics that cannot be so treated if these actions are not challenged. We recall that on several occasions in the past few years the workers on the Interborough lines have struck against a company union. Whalen's department has helped to beat the strikers into submission. Has he also used his department as an espionage agency for the transit corporation?

Whalen should resign. The Socialist Party has begun the job of circulating petitions demanding his resignation. We hope that every individual and organization interested in avoiding Whalen's inverted Bolshevism will circulate these petitions and root this child-man out of his position so that he can do no more harm.

The Pre-Whalen Era

FROM some unknown correspondent *The New Leader* has received a circular mailed by the Adams Express Company of Detroit to its agents in the Michigan division on April 9, 1913. The subject of the communication is a list of publica-

tions that are denied transmission through the mails and through the express companies. This was the glorious era of "making the world safe for democracy." Considering our indictment of Police Commissioner Whalen this twelve-year-old document turns up at an opportune moment.

Here various issues of the *New York Call* are listed as being denied shipment by the express companies. The *Milwaukee Leader* is completely banned. An article by William Hard in the March issue of the *Metropolitan Magazine* bearing the title: "Is America Honest?" is listed. Hard is now one of the regular contributors to the monthly magazine of the U. S. Chamber of Commerce which indicates how "dangerous" his ideas must have been in 1918.

Then we come across this curious item: "Pamphlets issued by the Victor Talking Machine Co., advertising and promoting the sale of phonograph records of German martial music, including songs relating directly to the present war." The Columbia Graphophone Co., gets a knock-out for selling similar phonograph records. One issue of the *White Plains Daily Argus* at White Plains, N. Y., received a knife thrust from the censor. The February number of *Young India* which urged home rule for India met the same fate.

Oligarchs at Washington were selling "democracy" abroad and putting it in chains at home. Give pompous upstarts liberty to act as they please and they will be pleased to give us none at all. Whalen must resign!

The Ford Empire

NAPOLEON and Alexander had their visions of world empire and yet their range of conquest was insignificant compared with American capitalism. The empire of Henry Ford has expanded all over Europe. Sir Percival Perry, chairman of the Ford Motor Company, Ltd., surveyed the vast domain of the American overlord the other day and said:

"This company and its associated companies are employing Englishmen, Irishmen, Dutchmen, Frenchmen, Belgians, Danes, Germans, Italians, Spaniards, Swedes, Finns, and Turks, and they are all working in their respective countries and doing the same job with similar tools under equal factory conditions. We compare how long it takes each respective man to complete his work."

Here is a world empire issuing out of American capitalism that is more significant than any territorial ambitions of any man in history. It has spread through thirteen nations. Frontiers have no more force than paper toys. Millions of workers of various nationalities and languages come more or less under its sovereign power. It is not an elective empire. Its subjects do not choose their allegiance. The empire chooses its subjects. Its heavy artillery is mass production that batters down old forms of production. Its absentee feudal master rules the lives of millions through his loyal chiefs.

And now, gentlemen of the press, of upper class politics, of solemn university halls, tell us again your fairy tale of "individualism." Where is the individual in this monstrous offshoot of your blessed social order? We note one in Detroit at the top of this empire. We note a few others like Sir Percival himself who reviews this world empire. But what of the unknown millions swallowed up in this colossus of economic power? What of their "individualism"? It is no more evident for them than in a belt in the machinery which they operate.

This is capitalism at its highest and at its worst. Socialism is essential to democratize these oligarchies.

IN A NUTSHELL

Senator Grundy of Pennsylvania is grieved that objection is made to him turning his office over to capitalist interests. He wants to know who owns this government, anyway.

Hunger is not among the postponable wants, and a day, even a few hours, in such a condition is often the crisis of a life of ruin.—Tom Paine.

President Hoover's investigation commission in Haiti is said to have wired him a plan to give freedom to that country. We doubt whether New York bankers will give up their sovereignty in the island.

Socialism has a world policy as well as a national one—a corollary to its belief in the brotherhood of man. It alone can banish national jealousies from the Foreign Office; it alone offers the guarantees of peace, which are a necessary preliminary to disarmament.—J. Ramsay MacDonald.

A farmer writing in the Atlantic Monthly declares that the troubles of farmers are all due to high wages of workers. Well, that farmer is not troubled with any high intelligence when he demands "Down With the Working Class."

The rigid righteous is a fool.
The rigid wise, another.
Robert Burns.

A report from Berlin indicates that some Germans are enjoying an installment of Americanism. Henry Ford has sweated 30 per cent in profits out of his German auto plant the first year and German capitalists want to know how the trick is done.

Socialism is the ideal and hope of a new society founded on industrial peace and forethought, aiming at a new and higher life for all men.—William Morris.

If the working people of this country had employed their votes to their own advantage they would be able to better deal with their lack of employment now.

Every wrong in some way tends to abolish itself. It is hard to make a lie stand always. A lie will not fit a fact. It will only fit another lie made for the purpose. The life of a lie is simply a question of time. Nothing but truth is immortal.—Robert G. Ingersoll.

I have seen some nations, like over-loaded asses, Kick off their burdens—meaning the high classes.

The Fight For The Aged

Washington, March 1.—For the first time in the nation's history old-age pension hearings were held by a committee of Congress.

This record was made at the request of the American Federation of Labor, which years ago endorsed the principle of old-age pensions. When Congressman Kopp, chairman of the House Labor Committee, arranged for hearings, President Green informed individuals and groups that have been interested in this question.

Mr. Green's publicity resulted in the largest crowd that has attended any hearing in this Congress.

Pension advocates generally agreed that the government should appropriate money for the States that would match this money dollar for dollar.—A. F. of L. Weekly News Service.

WE wish that the above statement squared with history but, unfortunately, it does not. It was not the first hearing on old age pensions in Washington. Others have been held.

The late Victor L. Berger, Socialist Congressman, introduced a bill for old age Pensions in 1911 but he obtained little support. Trade unions were not aware of the importance of this measure and paid no attention to it.

Later, Meyer London, another Socialist Congressman, introduced a similar bill and obtained a hearing on a proposal to have a committee study the question and report a bill. Unfortunately, Samuel Gompers appeared at that hearing and opposed the bill although some years earlier the American Federation of Labor had approved the principle of old age pensions but little was done to work for its realization in Federal legislation.

For years no encouragement whatever came from any A. F. of L. spokesman in favor of pensioning the workers who are being scrapped by the industrial masters at the age of fifty. Progressive trade unionists and Socialists in the meantime, seeing the growing importance of this legislation, have carried on an intensive agitation for it.

Finally at the Toronto convention of the American Federation of Labor last year this legislation was approved with but one dissenting vote. It has now become a burning issue throughout the country. We are glad to know that the labor chiefs have caught up with the sentiment of those who saw the need of old age pensions years ago, but many of them opposed it for years and candor requires that credit be given where it is due.

Live A Human Life

THEY live as idiots and machines all the time, at work and in their leisure. Like idiots and machines, but imagining that they are living like humans, even like gods. The first thing to do is to make them admit that they are idiots and machines during working hours. . . . You've got to do it; otherwise the whole fabric of our world will fall to bits and we'll all starve. Do the job, then, idiotically and mechanically, and spend your real hours in being a complete man or woman. The case may be. . . . The genuine human life in your leisure is the real thing. . . . Don't be deceived by the canting rogues who talk of the sanctity of labor and the Christian service that business men do their fellows. It's all lies. . . . If you believe in business as service and the sanctity of labor, you'll merely turn yourself into a mechanical idiot for twenty hours out of the twenty-four. Admit it's dirty, hold your nose and do it for eight hours, and then concentrate on being a real human being in your leisure. A real complete human being. Not a newspaper reader, not a jazzer, not a radio fan. The industrialists who purvey standardized ready-made amusements to the masses are doing their best to make you as much of a mechanical imbecile in your leisure as in your hours of work. But don't let them. Make the effort of being human. That's what you got to say to the people; that's the lesson you've got to teach the young. You've got to persuade everybody that this grand industrial civilization is just a bad smell and that the real significant life can only be lived apart from it. It will be a long time before decent living and industrial smell can be reconciled. Perhaps, indeed, they're irreconcilable. It remains to be seen. In the meantime, at any rate, we must shovel the garbage and bear the smell stoically, and in the intervals try to lead the real human life.

From "Point Counter Point" by Aldous Huxley

Labors Dividends

Accidents at coal mines in the United States during the month of January caused the loss of 212 lives, according to the Department of Commerce. Of this number 164 deaths occurred in bituminous mines and the remaining 48 in the anthracite mines of Pennsylvania.

Two "major" disasters—that is, disasters in which five or more lives were lost—occurred in the month of January, 1930. These were both explosions: one at Straven, Alabama, on January 13, caused the death of 7 men, and one on January 19, at Lillybrook, West Virginia, resulted in the loss of 8 lives. In January a year ago one major disaster at Kingston, West Virginia, took a toll of 14 lives.

Religion in Russia

"If You Eat Pope—"

Soviet Campaign Recalls A French Proverb; The Reactionaries Turned Tolerant

By H. N. Brailsford

LONDON.

NO one who watches the international religious campaign against Russia can doubt that a political purpose inspires it. The prime mover in this country are dis-hard Conservatives, who have used every other stick to beat the Soviets until it broke in their hands. On this occasion one must pay a tribute to their astuteness. Religion is one of the primary passions of mankind; if it can inspire the noblest heroism or promote insensate folly it is its peculiarity to rouse men to every effort save clear thinking.

It is easy to retort that the record of the Conservatives is one of hostility to the ideal of toleration, and one of indifference, when no motive of interest intervenes, to the sufferings of persecuted Christians.

No Conservative proposed to break off relations with Tsardom when its police was organizing the massacre of Jews, while the Holy Synod persecuted the Baptists and drove the harmless Dukhobors to seek refuge in Canada. This same party was Abdul Hamid's apologist in the bloodiest days of the Armenian massacres. I cannot recall that English Protestant Churches spoke a word of rebuke when the French Republic was closing the schools of the congregations and expelling the monastic orders from French soil; indeed, it was during these years of the sharp struggle against the Catholic Church that the Entente Cordiale was formed.

But such an answer is insufficient. If I were a believer, and were satisfied of the truth of these monstrous tales of the torture and massacre of Christians, for no offence save their faith, I should not be content to demand a breach with Russia; I should burn to carry a rifle against her on my own shoulder. Even if one were to stop short of diplomatic breach and content himself with prayer instead of rifles (which is supposed to be the Christian method of resisting evil), a scalding fountain of mischief would still remain. It is no light matter to think of one's fellow-men as "red devils." Let us try, then, to arrive at the facts.

The Torture Tales

With the tales of torture and massacre it is impossible to cope.

For, as the London "Morning Post" prints them, they lack every detail by which they could be tested—a few names of martyred bishops, but never a date, and then totals of vast numbers killed or imprisoned. The omission of dates is especially prudent. But readers who have moderately good memories can recall that we read these same vague, but edifying, narratives, and even these same totals, a good ten years ago. In short, if there's a vestige of truth in them—they happened during the civil war.

That was a savage struggle, as civil wars are apt to be, and Russians, when roused, have fiercer passions than Europeans. The Whites were, to the best of my belief (and I was in Russia in the last phase of this struggle), more wholesale in brutality than the Reds. The Church in the civil war ranged itself solidly on the side of the Whites, and undoubtedly many of the clergy were imprisoned for conspiracy, and some were shot. In at least one case a bishop was killed by an angry mob of workers. But these tales (grossly exaggerated as they are) are doubly irrelevant. They are out of date by ten years, and they do not prove religious persecution unless one chooses to plead that priests, when they oppose a revolution, should enjoy "benefit of clergy."

The "Manchester Guardian" has devoted much space to the dissection of these atrocities, and has effectively disposed of most of them. It is evident that Freudenberger Gough has been misled by unscrupulous translators. The residue of recent truth in these tales relates to such affairs as the shooting (after trial) of some "White Crusaders." These were fanatics who preached that the Archangel Michael was about to arrive on a White Horse to overthrow the Soviets and restore the Tsar. They distributed white badges to sympathizers. Clearly this was a monarchist movement adapted to simple souls. To shoot such people was a harsh police measure, but certainly it was not religious persecution.

To grasp the position of the Churches in Russia one must envisage the scene with more broader attempt at comprehension. It is difficult for an Englishman who has never lived in Eastern Europe

to understand the attitude of all progressive Russians (for in the old days Keresensky, and even the Liberal "Cadets" were as anti-clerical as the Bolsheviks) towards organized religion. They had to face a Church which commanded respect neither by the conduct nor the learning of its clergy. Its faith has no relation to ethics or conduct.

The Heavenly Customs House
This Church is merely the Customs House through which one must pass and pay toll on the way from this world to the next. It taught the most degraded superstitions, and it was organized for the systematic repression of every more living form of belief. It was, needless to say, the prop of the Autocracy, and when that fell it sought with its spiritual terrors to aid the cause of the landlord and the capitalist. That the Communists (as the Socialist parties also did) should oppose this Church, root and branch, was inevitable and right.

Going about in the villages I soon realized that there was a still more fundamental reason why the Bolsheviks must combat religion in its native forms. It is the chief obstacle to every advance, even in such mundane matters as the adoption of rational methods of cultivation. We talk of the "fatalism" of Russians, as though they were born with this handicap. They get it from the Church.

When a Communist tried to teach the peasants to fight drought by ploughing deep, he was met by the conviction—not a poetic fancy but a literal belief—that God sends or withholds rain. The way to get it is to pray for it, and, in general, to obey the Church. It sounds incredible, but I came on a case where the priest—the man who could bar the gates to Heaven to a trembling peasant—actually opposed as impious the planting of cabbages in the new manner with adequate space in which to grow. All this seems amusing to us, but it becomes tragic when it means the starvation of the towns.

Faced with this Church, which is an organized conspiracy to perpetuate all the evils of ignorance and poverty under which men labor here below, the Bolsheviks fought it, openly and legitimately, by propaganda. They organized atheist lectures. They encouraged the

teaching of popular science. They published cheap and readable books on anthropology and the origins of religion, and I found, in visiting the lending library of a cotton mill, that such books are eagerly read, even by the women. They challenged the Church to permit an investigation of some of the modern miracles which it boasts, with the result that one would expect. So far from suppressing discussion, they promoted it, and I attended a crowded debate in a country town between an atheist lecturer and an Orthodox priest—who had a fair hearing.

The Soviet's Method
All this was necessary. The ugly side of this campaign was the organization of processions and theatrical shows ridiculing religion. One may fight error, and yet respect the emotions of those who cherish it.

The Soviet method of handling the legal problem of its relations to organized religion is open to criticism, and I shall not shrink from it. But it is grossly misleading to speak, as the Archbishop of Canterbury has spoken of "the persecution of all who profess any form of religion in Russia." On the contrary, to the public exercise of religious rites, whether orthodox, sectarian, Jewish or Moslem, there is no hindrance whatever.

On the whole, the nonconformists and the Moslems have gained in freedom. But the Orthodox Church is disestablished and disendowed. It is poor, and its heads are suspect persons, who work under a vigilant police. They have no press of their own, and are subject to all disabilities that weigh on every phase of opinion other than that of the governing party.

On the other hand, the churches are open and often crowded, and their rites go on unmolested. To that I can testify, for it happens that I enjoy the music of the Eastern ritual, and I attended many services both in 1920 and 1926. It is true that many churches have been closed for various reasons and put to other uses, generally as libraries or village "institutes." I saw one lovely medieval church in Vladimir which had been rescued from barbarous neglect and defacement and had been worthily preserved as a noble monument of art. But one must realize that churches as numerous even in villages as "pubs" are in this free land. Enough, and more than enough, are left for worship.

Religion and the Child

But no activities, apart from religion, are permitted in the church—no lectures, no "Pleasant Sunday Afternoons," no social life. That, however, is part of the general demand of freedom to organize, outside the recognized institutions of the proletarian State. It is an illiberal policy which I, for one, think wrong and foolish. But it is not the persecution of religion. A priest may pray, or preach, or confess, or administer the sacraments as he pleases.

The graver ground for criticism turns on the strict prohibition of any public or organized religious instruction for children. They may and do attend all the rites of the Church. Their parents may teach them what they please. But below the age of eighteen, the priest, the pastor and the rabbi may not gather them together in groups or classes to teach them the tenets of their faith. I think that a grown person commits an outrage on the immature mind of a child, who imposes any view of controversial questions upon it, whether in religion or politics. But these same children are indoctrinated with Atheism and Communism in the schools. To expect a believing parent, or a sincere priest, to endure this without open or covert resistance is to ask too much of human nature.

The Orthodox suffer least: their priests rarely burn with zeal. But one would feel little respect for a Catholic priest or a Baptist pastor who did not try to circumvent this decree. The Jews, perhaps, are in the worst case for their tradition requires an elaborate study of all the medieval lore of the Talmud, extending over many years. One may think that a deplorable waste of time, if it is nothing worse. A progressive State would discourage it by every means, short of prohibition. But again, one would not respect these old-world Jews, hardened in their rigid beliefs by centuries of oppression, if they did not struggle. And, in fact, Talmudic schools are organized in secret, and when the police unearth them, the rabbi may be thrown into jail.

The Darkness of Tradition

It is easy to say that the lads of these pious Jewish households have only to wait till they are 18, and then they may freely plunge into the dogmatic darkness of tradition. But, meantime, they have drunk in a rather crude form of Materialism at school. This is not religious persecution in the not religious persecution in the Archbishop's meaning. But neither is it religious freedom. What is true of the Jews is true, in a less degree, of Protestant or Catholic children. They may read the Bible or learn their catechism, and their "hours" at their mother's knee. But till they are mature

THE NEW LEADER MAIL-BAG

Autonomy in the A. F. of L.

The New Leader:

The New Leader in its editorial on "Federation Autonomy," March 1 issue, comes to rather hasty conclusions when it states that Matthew Woll, in his speech before the Labor Institute of the Rand School, "stressed theory and ignored practice." The instances on which The New Leader bases its conclusions are wanting in particulars. A reader would have to accept them on faith. Should a reader be called upon to establish the facts in the cases cited he would be at a loss. The citations do not carry conviction.

I quite recall that some years ago—during the war or shortly thereafter—the Brooklyn and the Manhattan central labor bodies were reorganized into one central body. I believe that the reorganization was effected because of some possibility of the New York central body's being captured and committed to endorsing and espousing independent political action at that time. I believe that the issue was the American Labor Party. I am not aware, however, that the orders for the reorganization came from the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, the responsible and representative body of the Federation, which, accordingly, Woll had in mind in speaking of Federation autonomy. It is quite possible that some of the local unions which were opposed to such a move initiated proceedings for the reorganization, which would not be surprising. The New Leader editorial, however, while not distinctly stating that the A. F. of L., as such, stepped into the situation and ordered the reorganization, implies as much. I am far from accepting the implication, and question it. I should like to ask for the details and the facts.

Regarding the case of the Indiana miners, who, as The New Leader states, "were vigorously denounced for repudiating the 'non-partisan' political policy," I am not informed. I should like to ask what particular action or resolution was adopted by those miners, the occasion leading to its adoption, the particular body which did the denouncing, and in what terms.

The same request might be made regarding The New Leader's statement that "the Chicago and Minneapolis central bodies were subjected to similar discipline." What was the particular "offense" of these bodies; what official body disciplined them, and in what manner?

With reference to the situation in this city in 1924, my recollection differs from that of The New Leader. I am under the impression that the Central Trades and

Labor Council did conform to the endorsement given by the A. F. of L. Council to the La-Follette-Wheeler ticket, but that a "rump" group of members of the Executive Committee of the Central Labor body repudiated that endorsement and declared for the Democratic candidates. In this respect The New Leader's citation is faulty, I believe. Nor does it convict the American Federation of Labor. Indeed, the very fact that in this instance "the repudiation of the national support given to the La-Follette-Wheeler ticket went unchallenged," far from sustaining The New Leader's charges, refutes them. It rather supports the statement of Woll that the A. F. of L., as such, does not mix in.

Aside from the foregoing, there is an angle which The New Leader, in coming to its conclusions, apparently overlooked. I refer to the local labor parties, formed by local and central labor unions, in different parts of the country, in existence now and without molestation by the A. F. of L. I distinctly recall a speech made by Comrade Leonard Bright at the post-election conference of the Socialist Party of this city, in which, speaking on the declaration of "party policy," sought for a declaration of labor parties among the unions and progressive elements. In that speech Comrade Bright pointed to the existence of a fair number of such parties in various cities, among them New Bedford, Niagara Falls, and in Pennsylvania. And only recently The New Leader reported that the official organ of the Central Labor Union of Philadelphia was taking a vote on the advisability of discarding the non-partisan policy and going in for a labor party. Can The New Leader point out that any of these bodies, or all of them, have been thwarted, denounced, and disciplined by the American Federation of Labor? These are recent occurrences and existing facts. But there is no condemnation heard of on that head.

We have therefore this situation: Even if the instances cited by The New Leader were established as facts, they would not be conclusive. There are other facts which can be matched against them. Which is my reason for saying that the conclusions of The New Leader, in attempting to contradict Matthew Woll, do not carry conviction. Those conclusions themselves are at fault.

EDMUND SEIDEL.
New York City.

The above is a peculiar letter. On the basis of our correspondence he admitted lack of information he questions our statements and

yet in certain instances he recalls, as in the Brooklyn-Manhattan case, certain impressions of what happened that would indicate justification of what we said. Moreover, he ignores the fact that in a short editorial it is impossible to give the detailed facts survey which he asks. If that were done it would cease to be an editorial and would have to take the form of an article because of its length. We shall give a few of the facts he desires.

1. It was not a "rump" group that repudiated LaFollette and endorsed Davis. It was the Central Trades and Labor Council of New York City.

2. In January, 1919, the reconstruction committee of the central labor bodies of Greater New York organized the American Labor Party of Greater New York and adopted a program similar to the Chicago Labor Party. The late Samuel Gompers and the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. met with local labor and laid down the dictum that organization of a labor party was barred by the constitution of the A. F. of L.

3. The Illinois trade unions had organized a Labor Party and in the first city election it elected its candidates for mayor in seven cities, elected all its candidates in two cities, and elected from two to seven aldermen in all these cities.

The success of Illinois stirred the Indiana unions which also organized a labor party. In February, 1920, President Gompers selected that state for attack, probably because it was weaker than the Illinois organization. On February 19, he sent a blistering letter to William Mitch of the Indiana Labor Party denouncing the organization. He declared that Mitch's telegram to Gompers, which had announced rejection of the "non-partisan policy," "is an affront to the labor movement."

4. In 1923 the Seattle and Minneapolis central bodies were informed that their actions were in opposition to the A. F. of L. The indictment included independent party organization and action. Seattle had also, among other offenses, sent a delegate to the "Red" trade union international in Moscow but only as an observer.

We recognize that the recently organized local labor parties have not been intimidated by any of the high labor chiefs. The New Leader has reported the organization and progress of these parties. What our editorial had reference to was past actions. So far the local autonomy of the unions in the past two years has been respected. We hope that the intimidating actions of previous years will not be repeated.